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Fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te.

EDITOR'S ANNOUNCEMENT

The Church Quarterly Review is a cooperative undertaking designed to promote sound learning and a deeper understanding of the Christian Revelation. Essays and reviews are invited for reading and consideration. Philosophy, Theology, and disquisitions relevant to the present intellectual and pastoral problems of the Church will be given priority. Literary and Historical studies, if of high quality and of current interest, will also be acceptable.

Articles exceeding 5,000 words in length cannot generally be published. But exceptions to this rule may be permitted if an article is of great interest.

As in the past, contributions will usually be accepted as given voluntarily unless a contract has been arranged. Every care will be taken with authors' manuscripts, but no responsibility can be accepted. Writers are strongly advised to retain a copy of every article submitted.

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As the amount of material submitted exceeds the capacity of the journal, writers will understand that a decision will often be delayed. In the circumstances of a journal which is published quarterly considerable delay may be unavoidable.

EDITORIAL

The Colombo Plan

In his *Hellenism and the Modern World* Gilbert Murray, that Christian apologist—who brings to his task the fruits of a lifelong interpretation of Greek ideas—declares that the Hellenic half of the world has achieved something new and great in its concern for human misery everywhere. *Deus est mortali mortalem juvare.*

It is new that the Western world can, from motives of both Christian feeling and, in a measure, sheer political prudence do a little to aid the under-privileged countries. Too long have we in the West averted our gaze from the great continents of the East and the South, caring little for their cultures and neglecting their social needs. It may be too late.

The extension of self-government will be attended by many hazards, and there will be required immense effort if the Hellenic conceptions of law and right—the formulation of a just law and the creation of governments which subject themselves to law—is to be transmitted to those who have not known them. In spite of our wealth and prestige we did little during our long suzerainty of Eastern countries to promote moral and intellectual advancement.

The Colombo Plan is designed to meet a most urgent crisis. The greatest danger to humanity lies, not in the possibility of atomic war, but in world hunger. Populations are increasing with the utmost rapidity. At the same time the fertile land is being constantly reduced by careless cultivation. Soil erosion is a great and continuing danger to the economics of numerous countries. Africa, India, America, China, and many other vast areas are rapidly losing fertility. In Africa most of the destruction of forest was done before European influence became effective, but anyone who has lived in the tropics for a long time will have discovered evidence of still disappearing forest in spite of Government efforts to limit the destruction.

The Archbishop of York, addressing the York Diocesan Conference in November, spoke at length on this danger of world famine. The Church Missionary Society has published warnings on the same topic, noting that the population of India is increasing by four million a year. Such warnings are timely, for Christianity has of late shown a preoccupation with its domestic problems, matters which are of interest only to a number of academic students when the whole world is crumbling beneath our feet. There are very pressing and practical reasons why our insular populations should be interested in a threat of world famine.

Every issue today is becoming global. The welfare of the African, bred in a remote river-girt village, is our interest too. We have given little thought to it hitherto, but we have no excuse today. While the sphere of our political influence is shrinking fast there is no limit to the range of our moral influence. We still have a mission. Indeed, if we believe in our culture we are commissioned with a heavy responsibility. Neither as administrators, nor as missionaries, have we made an adequate effort to understand alien cultures and beliefs.

The Report of the Colombo Plan recently published (Cmd. 9016, Stationery Office, 3s. 6d.) shows the results of the work done in two years. Three and a half million acres of irrigated land have been brought under cultivation in India. In Pakistan, Malaya, Ceylon, and other countries comparable progress is reported. There has been appreciable development in many Eastern countries. The success of the six-year plan will hinge upon the degree of co-operation which the nationals of the benefiting countries are able and willing to furnish. But while this plan is going forward the countries receiving aid are growing very fast. The Colombo plan is relatively small. It is little more than a gesture.

The Ministry of Healing

RECENT EVENTS have directed public attention to the Church's work of healing the sick. Much has been done by independent effort in this sphere of work, but many have felt the need of organisation and instruction. The Sacrament of Unction was a practice of the Church in Apostolic times. " Is any sick among you ? let him call for the elders of the Church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the Name of the Lord." St. James must have been alluding to an established system. Its origin is obscure. In later times the Sacrament of Unction was given only to persons believed to be in danger of death, and this rule continues in the Roman Catholic Church.

In the Anglican Communion the Guild of S. Raphael was founded in 1915 to promote the Sacrament of Healing and has the patronage of Archbishops and a great number of Diocesan Bishops. The Guild consists of Communicants within the Anglican and daughter Churches, both clerical and lay, who observe a rule of prayer, study, and work for this Ministry. It publishes a " Quarterly " which may be obtained from the Central Secretary at 33 Wilton Place, London, S.W.1. It is much to be desired that the theology of divine healing should be considered and expounded more fully than has been possible in the past, and we hope to contribute to this subject in a future number of this review.

The healing of disease is not free from obscure problems arising out of pain and suffering. Suffering may be our vocation. The patient must place himself in the hands of God.

The subject was debated in the Upper House of Convocation in May, 1952. Many bishops spoke. The Bishop of Ely spoke as Warden of the Guild of S. Raphael: the Bishop of Lincoln as ex-Chairman of the Churches' Guild of Health. The Bishop of Coventry, also, laid stress on the gravity of the issues involved, pointing out the fact that the British Medical Association was prepared to cooperate with the Church and that many doctors were deeply conscious of the spiritual vocation of the medical and nursing professions.

At the same time some speakers sounded a note of caution. A function affecting health must be free from ill-considered use. One speaker expressed anxiety lest young and inexperienced priests should embark on experiments in healing to the neglect of their main duties. Discipline must be exercised. It was clear that the Commission which has now been appointed will be faced with many theoretical questions.

A writer in the *S. Raphael Quarterly*, in two recent articles, placed the subject of healing on a sound foundation. "No sacrament stands alone, but is a part in the whole sacramental system." Faith will heal, but it must be a faith which re-integrates the patient into the whole mystical body of the Church. Emphasis is laid on the importance of preparatory instruction, and also of continued effort to live within the Church.

NOTES

SCIENCE AND FAITH

The Eddington Memorial Lectureship is designed to deal with an urgent need of these times. Its Cambridge founders hold that the advance of science with its astonishing control of physical power must be " matched by a great moral and spiritual advance ", if fearful consequences are to be averted. This, surely, is a grave theme. Physical studies have brought about an extraordinary situation. Man has become the master of unknown powers—powers which in their range and conception increase with more and more fantastic results. But in political achievement he is little better than a child.

The problem so pressing which engaged the mind of Eddington was to *relate* the various methods of the search for truth: science, philosophy and religion. Eddington was not in agreement with those who hold that the only truth is truth derived from sense-perception. He had vision. But how to bring about this necessary " moral and spiritual advance " is the crux of our inquiry. The Cambridge foundation will win the approval of many thoughtful persons. Politics alone will never ensure peace.

Readers of this journal will have seen a review (July, 1953) of the *Socratic No.* 5, an occasional journal which bears witness to the determination of a number of Oxford philosophers, scientists, and theologians to further this same inquiry. For it must not be supposed that there is much agreement anywhere today as to the nature of religious truth. *Positivism* has many able adherents. It has served to focus attention on linguistic analysis and the logical status of religious statements. For this modern empirical philosophy calls in question the meaningfulness of religious propositions. Such is a new challenge which the Christian apologist is seldom qualified to answer. And if some scientific workers are prepared to admit the importance of religious experience, there are many also who deny it. The great pall of secularist thinking which covers the country and darkens popular literature is certainly related to the prevailing difficulties experienced by thoughtful scientific workers in reconciling two very different methods of thought.

DIVINE HEALING

It was announced in October last that the Archbishops of Canterbury and York had appointed a Commission to consider the theological, medical, psychological and pastoral aspects of Divine Healing with a view to providing within two or three years a report designed to guide the Church to clearer understanding of the subject. The Bishop of Lincoln is Chairman of the Commission, which includes the Bishops of Coventry, Ely, Rochester and Colchester. Other members of the Commission are the Dean of Wells, the Rev. W. D. Giddey, the Rev. M. B. Dewey, the Rev. S. H. C. Wynne, the Rev. G. M. Elliott, the Rev. Prof. W. Grensted, the Rev. G. B. Bentley, and a number of lay members, including representatives of the medical profession.

The question of a relationship between the two aspects of healing practice—the physical and the spiritual—involves a number of issues. Primarily there is an obvious conflict between the standpoints of science and religion. And it is unwise to assume that this conflict has been resolved by recent trends in scientific thought, and by certain pronouncements by eminent scientists like Eddington and Jeans.

Loyalty to truth requires that we should recognise the existence of far-reaching and diverse philosophical postulates, essential to either field of study, which cannot at present be reconciled. Scientific inquiry at the highest level works on assumed principles which exclude the acceptance of propositions held to be fundamental in Christian thought and, indeed, in nearly all religious thought.

A number of efforts have been made by philosophical thinkers of first-class qualifications to advance the examination of this problem. We refer on another page to the Eddington Memorial Lecture by Professor H. H. Price, who holds the Wykeham chair of Logic in the University of Oxford. We hope also to review shortly a work by Professor C. A. Coulson F.R.S. which approaches the same subject from a slightly different background. And there will be other books and pamphlets under review.

The very existence of these writings to which leading philosophical thinkers have given so much thought shows that the conflict of religion and science is a grave issue. There did not exist fifty years ago a similar concentration of expert inquiry, although the problem was well enough known. Today we witness what may be called a two-way traffic between the opposing camps.

But let none suppose that the claims of science to a special prerogative of knowledge have yet been abandoned. Not long ago great publicity was accorded to some broadcast lectures on *The Nature of the Universe* by Mr. Fred Hoyle. Mr. Hoyle claims for Science an exclusive authority over the physical world. If this claim, to which many have given assent, were true, there would be no basis for cooperation between medicine and Christianity. And the attitude of disciples of Freud on the one hand, and of Marxists on the other, does not need further description here. In their view religion is at best an emotional by-product.

THE ARCHIVES

THE care of archives is not a popular interest in England. The research worker fares better in France in spite of vandalism during the Revolution. It is too late to save many of the parish archives, but something is being done now, and the archivist is a recognised member of the staff of many important administrative centres. We have noticed on another page an excellent handbook which would be useful in every parish. Ecclesiastical records furnish indispensable material, not only for the history of religion, but for the social history of the past, especially in pre-Reformation times.

Parish registers were first required by law to be kept in 1538. The ideal parish should contain a veritable mine of precious documents. There would be deeds dating from the thirteenth century, account-books of charities, and even early parchment rolls containing church-wardens' accounts. There was much local administration which originally occasioned additions to the contents of the parish chest. Anyone whose interest in history prompts him to search for parish records will find in chapter twenty of *Local Records* (G. Bell & Sons) an astonishing inventory of the good things which might be found. In fact, however, a good collection of parochial records is very rare. Often enough valuable books have been removed to private premises and lost. " After an Easter Vestry last year " runs the evidence of a Somerset parson before the Royal Commission, " the parish warden was not re-elected, and he was told to give up his book. He said: ' I beant; I paid for't; it be moine '."

But it is not the archives in this country which have caused the greatest concern. Some of our Crown Colonies have a long history. In the cellars of the older offices and residences of Governors there will certainly be quantities of correspondence which contain precious information about the early history of colonial administration. Can we be assured that necessary steps have been taken to preserve these records? For a long time these important little communities were starved of funds, and short of European staffs. Seldom did anyone care about the archives.

WESTMINSTER CATHEDRAL

THE fine Roman Catholic Cathedral at Westminster passed its fiftieth year recently. Bentley, the architect, who was not accustomed to work in the Romanesque style, was instructed by his employers to do so, and architects have always admired the interior (there has been less unanimity about the exterior) of this great building. The opportunity is a unique one for real judgement in decoration. But interior architects have never been common, and the decoration of churches is usually at the mercy of those whose limited experience is a handicap. Decoration of large interiors—especially ecclesiastical interiors—is a difficult branch of architecture. We are inexperienced because it seldom happens that funds are available for a large project. And architectural designers who have any real knowledge of decorative work are rare.

Nevertheless we hope that Westminster Cathedral will be in good hands.

In spite of the efforts of the Institute of British Decorators, decoration is not flourishing in Britain. The public is afraid of colour, and many of the processes essential to success are unfamiliar to architects. Mosaic is not an English art and those examples which have been attempted in ecclesiastical and secular buildings during the last hundred years are often disappointing.

Convocation of Canterbury

OCTOBER SESSIONS 1953

THE October Sessions of Convocation were somewhat confused and unsatisfactory owing to considerable disagreement between the Upper and Lower Houses, coupled with some degree of misunderstanding.

The Sessions were opened with an address by His Grace the President in which he surveyed the situation of the Church in various parts of the world, and the difficulties with which it was faced, first owing to active persecution and secondly owing to acute racial questions. He also referred to the Roman Catholic Church which, while courageously resisting persecution in certain places, itself instigated intolerance in other countries; and he mentioned the attacks made on the doctrines of the Church of England by the Church of Rome, and recommended a recent booklet " Infallible Fallacies," which briefly answers them.

In the full Synod the resolution covering relations with the Church of Scotland in regard to preaching and admission to Holy Communion was declared to be a formal Act of Convocation. A report on the provision of prayers for the family was introduced by the Bishop of Rochester, and a resolution on civil remarriage after divorce by the Bishop of Rochester and the Bishop of Oxford.

The draft of the proposed Petition to the Crown for the Royal Licence to Confer and Agree upon Canons was also presented in full Synod.

In the Upper House the report on prayers for the family was generally approved and a number of specific suggestions for its revision were referred to the Committee. The report was subsequently considered by the Lower House, which also put forward various suggestions for the consideration of the Committee. In both Houses criticism was made of the proposed " Family Sunday ", and the Lower House did not discuss the proposed form of service for use in connection with the adoption of a child.

The resolution on remarriage after divorce provoked a long discussion in the Upper House, which finally passed a resolution including the motion proposed by the Bishop of Rochester, but stating that the action mentioned in that motion (namely, " That it is admissible for the parish priest to offer prayer to God with and for a man and woman who have contracted marriage before the civil registrar during the lifetime of the previous partner of either of them, on condition that his doing so is subject to the approval of the Bishop as to the manner and occasion, and that no publicity is attached to what is done and it is made clear to those concerned that this is in no sense a marriage in Church ") has in fact been allowed in suitable cases by the Bishops for some time past. The Upper House added that the words of the motion adequately summarize it, though Bishops are accustomed to take into consideration further safeguards. The resolution stated that, in the opinion of this House, they should continue the discretionary use of this practice, and added that the House would be glad if the Lower House found itself able to give its support to the Upper House in the line which it takes. This resolution was sent down to the Lower House, which postponed discussion of it until the next group of Sessions.

The Petition to the Crown was adopted by both Houses with amendments. This means that permission will now be sought from the Crown to draft Canons in their final form prior to their approval by the two Houses of Convocation, so that, in due course, and after any necessary statutory legislation has been enacted, the new Canons can go forward for Royal Assent and Licence with a view to their formal enactment.

The two questions on which the greatest disagreement arose were those of the Duties of Church membership and Relations with the Churches of Norway, Denmark and Iceland. On the former subject, the Upper House rejected a desire of the House of Laity that reference be made, in any Rules approved by the Convocations, to the Ten Commandments and the Catechism, on the ground that the Rules were essentially short and concise and that any such reference would unduly lengthen them; but they agreed to the request of the House of Laity that the list of Duties put out by the two Archbishops should be officially authorized by the Convocations, instead of the Rules prepared by the Convocation Committee, but with the addition of Rule 6 concerning loyalty to the Christian ideals of marriage and the duty of bringing up children in the Christian faith. When this request of the House of Laity was considered in the Lower House there was strong feeling that in as much as the original request of the House of Laity was for Rules rather than Duties, the Convocations should adhere to the table of Rules which they had already approved. But the President made it quite clear that the Upper House would not agree to adopt this attitude, particularly as the Convocation of York had also accepted the request of the House of Laity. The Lower House, which felt that the Upper House and, more particularly, the House of Laity, had not understood the Lower House's attitude in this matter, at one point proposed to ask for a conference between the House of Clergy and the House of Laity; but, in view of the fact that this would seem constitutionally improper to the House of Bishops, the suggestion was withdrawn, and with considerable reluctance the Lower House agreed to the decision of the Upper House to give to the Table of Duties the official authority of Convocation, on the understanding that they were being authorized as a list of "Duties", and not as "Rules" of Church membership.

The Lower House discussed the resolutions on Relations with the Churches of Norway, Denmark and Iceland, passed by the Upper House in May. The crucial resolution was Number 2, which stated that baptised and communicant members of the Churches of Norway, Denmark and Iceland, when in England and cut off from the ministrations of their own Churches, are to be welcomed to receive Holy Communion in the Church of England. In the Lower House the Dean of Chichester made a vigorous protest against the policy being adopted in regard to relations with other Churches, and the House agreed that the wording of this resolution be altered to conform with that passed in 1935 with reference to the Church of Finland, and in 1939 with reference to the Churches of Latvia and Estonia. In both these cases the phrase used was that members of these Churches: " May be admitted to Communion in the Church of England." When this was reported to the Upper House they rejected the proposed alteration on the ground that it was essential to make clear beyond doubt the practice of the Church of England, in view of the concern felt by the Church of Norway at differing practices hitherto adopted in various cases in different places in England. When the Lower House learned of this they asked that the wording be altered to " May be welcomed to receive the Holy Communion ", and this request will be considered by the Upper House at the next group of Sessions. As a corollary to the discussions on these Scandinavian Churches, the Lower House also asked that relations with the Church of Sweden should now be clarified. This had not previously been done, although the Lambeth Conference of 1948 asked that it should be. The President agreed to appoint a small committee with particular knowledge of the Church of Sweden to take the necessary preparatory steps in this matter.

Another question which came before the Upper House was that of the divergent regulations in the Provinces of Canterbury and York on the subject of the Ministry of Laywomen in Church, and both Houses agreed that a joint committee should be appointed to discuss this with a similar committee of York Convocation.

Finally, both Houses continued their work on Canon Law revision. A number of small verbal amendments were made in Canons 4, 5, 6, 55, 69, and three of the Marriage Canons, to bring the two Provinces into accord in the wording of these Canons. A new draft of Canon 78, on priests having a Cure of Souls, was discussed, and almost complete agreement was reached upon it, though it was agreed to refer the Canon to the Steering Committee for elucidation of one or two points. A new Canon on "The Declaration of Obedience to the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical " was considered and passed without amendment by both Houses.

The Upper House gave its first consideration to the last group of Canons (126-134) entitled "The Synods, Assemblies and Conferences of the Church of England "; but although it provisionally approved Canons 128, 129 and 131-134, it did not feel able to proceed further in the matter, in view of the fact that all these Canons will certainly be affected by the findings of the Commission on the Representation of the Laity in the Synodical Government of the Church, recently appointed by the Archbishops. The Lower House gave its first consideration to Canons 108 and 111, and having rejected an important amendment to Canon 109, which would have had the effect of prohibiting all concerts, plays and cinematograph films in churches, it approved all these Canons, with a small amendment in Canon 109.

A. F. SMETHURST.

NEW TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE

The Bible Year which is being observed in 1953-4 under the sponsorship of the British Council of Churches is intended to recall Christians to a proper appreciation of the value of Bible reading. In many places there will be local 'Bible Weeks' organized jointly by the Churches. One question that has already arisen in this connection concerns the presentation of the Bible in English. Does the venerable language of the Authorised Version (now nearly 350 years old) make the message of the Bible obscure to many people and hinder their understanding of the essential meaning? Many experienced judges would say that it does, and numerous modern translations of at least parts of the Bible have been published, but there is no complete version in good modern English embodying the best scholarship and possessing general acceptance.

The Churches have already given thought to this problem. Realizing the difficulties of language which many people meet today if they try to read the accepted versions, the Churches co-operated, soon after the War, in setting up a Joint Committee on New Translation of the Bible, to supervise the making of a new and authoritative version from the original languages. On this Committee the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the major English Free Churches, the Society of Friends, and the Churches in Wales and Ireland are represented, together with the British and Scottish Bible Societies.

The translation is being done by Panels of scholars, appointed by the Joint Committee and chosen for their qualifications in the field of Old Testament, Apocrypha, or New Testament studies, or as judges of the points of English style and language that constantly arise in the course of translation. Individual translators make the first drafts of the books allotted to them, and these are then criticized by the Panels in the interests of accuracy and good English, and are finished by a process of discussion and mutual agreement.

The style aimed at is, in the words of Dr. C. H. Dodd, who is General Director of the whole enterprise, '"timeless" English, avoiding both archaisms and transient modernisms', but in pursuit of this ideal scholarly accuracy in translation must not be sacrificed. Consequently the work cannot be hurried, but steady progress is being made. Books which have gone through all their stages include the Gospels of St. Mark and St. John, three important Epistles (Romans, I Corinthians, and Galatians), and the books of Ruth, Ezekiel, and Amos, together with the first half of Exodus. Many other books are at various earlier stages.

This indicates definite progress and has provided valuable experience. But the length of the Bible means that it will be some years before anything can be published. It is hoped to have the New Testament ready for printing by the beginning of 1958, but the Old Testament, being so much longer, will take several years more. Though this may seem slow progress on a work designed to meet urgent contemporary needs, the Joint Committee have always intended that this should be an authoritative translation, backed by the best scholarship, and suitable, if the Churches desire it, not only for private reading and study, but also for reading in public worship. It is not expected that it will displace the Authorized Version, but that authority may be given to use it as an alternative version. To produce a version of this quality, fit to stand beside the great translations of the past, is an object worthy of the time and labour being spent by those engaged in it.

The Chairman of the Joint Committee is the Bishop of Winchester and the Secretary is the Rev. Professor J. K. S. Reid, 44 Headingley Mount, Leeds, 6, and the publishers will be the Oxford and Cambridge University Presses jointly. The office of the General Director is C/o The University Press, Cambridge.

The Religious Life of Mr. Gladstone

By E. F. FAGAN

THERE is in the possession of the writer a small volume in paper covers by Mr. G. W. E. Russell, his private secretary, upon *The Religious Development of Mr. Gladstone;* the memories there set forth seem too precious to be unrecorded before it passes into oblivion.

Mr. Gladstone was born in 1809 of a godfearing and generous father and a devotedly evangelical mother, who reported her son in 1818 or 1819 to be " truly converted to God ". At eleven he went to Eton, where — despite the fact that public schools then were described, not without reason, as " the seats and nurseries of vice " —that spirit passed unscathed, as his schoolfellows eloquently attested. " At Eton ", said Bishop Hamilton of Salisbury, " I was a thoroughly idle boy, but I was saved from worse things by getting to know Gladstone ". Long years after, another schoolfellow recalled the school dinner at which young Gladstone turned his glass upside down upon the proposal of an indecent toast.

In 1828 he went up to Christ Church, Oxford, there to pursue the same devout and industrious life, going to church faithfully " with his Bible and Prayer-book tucked under his arm ", as Cardinal Manning has described, living so abstemious a life with so powerful an influence that Temple, going up ten years later, declared that undergraduates drank less in the 'forties because Gladstone had been courageously abstemious in the 'thirties. It is significant of Gladstone's simplicity of soul that perhaps the deepest friendship of those years was with the devout and humble Joseph Anstice, now only remembered by a few hymns but exercising a commanding influence over young Gladstone's loyalty. We may suspect that it was largely due to that quiet and almost forgotten influence that, upon taking his double First, young Gladstone longed to devote his powers to the direct glory of God in Holy Orders. But the *patria potestas,* that well-nigh omnipotent force in that day, intervened, and his father demanded his entrance into political life. (It is noteworthy that Gladstone never seems to have entirely forgiven that *patria potestas*.)

But the great battle for the Catholic inheritance of our Church had not yet been joined. Even at its opening his adhesion to it was at first spoken of vaguely: rather as its supporter against Liberalism and worldliness than as a full believer in all its teachings. But under the influence of his friend James Robert Hope, and through the study of the occasional offices of our Prayer-book, conviction came, to be strengthened by deeper studies in theology. And the faith to which he came must now be illustrated by brief extracts from his writings:

> The *Incarnation* brought righteousness out of the region of cold abstractions, clothed it in flesh and blood, opened for it the shortest and broadest way to all our sympathies, gave it the firmest command over all the springs of human action, by incorporating it in a Person and making it, as has been beautifully said, " liable to love ". No doubt (as I for one believe) *the Church* began with a clergy: nay, began in a clergy. It had its centre of life and self-propagating power in the Apostolic College which gradually called into being those other Orders that form the full equipment of the Christian Ministry.
>
> Undoubtedly we should reckon as the highest main use of *Sacraments* their office of specially and peculiarly imparting to us the participation of the Divine Nature.
>
> A spiritual power and operation belong to *Baptism*.
>
> As regards *the Holy Communion*—the Church does not feel that the solemn words of the Institution of the Eucharist are adequately—that is Scripturally—represented by any explanation which resolves them into mere figure . . . . She believes that there is a real though not a carnal truth in the solemn words " This is my Body, This is my Blood ": in just conformity with the precept in which St. Paul desires us to discern, that is to discriminate from common elements, the Body and Blood of the Lord.

During the Denison controversy:

> My mind is quite made up that if belief in the Eucharist as a Reality is proscribed by law in the Church of England, all I hold dear in life shall be given and devoted to over-setting and tearing in pieces such law, whatever consequences, of whatever kind, may follow.
>
> If it be true that, in the current doctrine and practice of the Eucharist the Sacrificial idea had before the Reformation, and not for the best purposes, been allowed to assume an undue and enormous predominance over that of Communion, it came in the course of controversy to be so depressed on the Protestant side that it was almost effaced from the common mind. This could hardly be done without a serious dislocation of the historical relations between that great Sacrament and its

historic types. Nor, again, without seriously lowering the general conception of life and worship as a true Sacrifice to God, which had the Eucharistic Sacrifice for its central point.

Of the *Power of the Keys* he was unshakably convinced and of its use with troubled souls as "the means of authoritative support, of consolation ever Divine, though ministered through the weakness and foolishness of a fleshly organ to which the Church habitually points the way as their meet refuge, if they shall not of themselves suffice to the discharge of that awful duty" [of repentance]. (It ought to be said that, thought it is not proven, Mr. Gladstone did not apparently himself feel the need of regular private confession).

The abandonment of "the Commendation of the Faithful Departed to God for an increase of their rest and peace" seemed to him not only "the obscuration of a universal tradition" but also leading to "manifold confusions of doctrine" in regard to the Intermediate State of Souls and the Final Judgement. "The Christian Dead are in a progressive state . . . a process of discipline happy indeed in its results but of which we have no right to assert . . . that the redeeming and consummating process will be accomplished without an admixture of salutary and accepted pain."

This passionate devotion to our Mother Church flashes out more than once. To him a flight to the Church of Rome would be something almost akin to mortal sin: even to feel compelled to leave the communion of *Ecclesia Anglicana* in some more lawful manner was a horrifying possibility. His passionate loyalty to the Church of his baptism reads indeed refreshingly in days when too many accord to her the supercilious patronage that they would accord to an eccentric maiden aunt. "The Church in which our lot has been cast has come to the birth, and the question is, Will she have strength to bring forth? I am persuaded it is written in God's decrees that she shall, and that after deep repentance and deep suffering a high and peculiar part remains for her in healing the wounds of Christendom."

Ritual itself is founded on the Apostolic precept, "Let all things be done decently and in order . . . in right, graceful, or becoming figure and by fore-ordered arrangement." . . "No ritual is too much, provided it is subsidiary to the inner work of worship: and all ritual is too much unless it ministers to that purpose."

Against *Undenominationalism* and *Erastianism* Gladstone waged relentless war:

> An undenominational system of religion framed by or under the authority of the State is a moral monster—The State has no charter from Heaven . . . . . If we follow the Erastian idea, it does not matter what God we worship, or how we worship him, provided we derive both belief and worship from the civil ruler.

And again during the Denison controversy:

> It is high time . . . . . . that the Archbishop should be awakened from his fool's paradise and made to understand that, though reverence for his office has up to this time, in a wonderful manner, kept people silent about his proceedings, yet the time has come when a beginning must be made towards describing them without circumlocution in their true colours.

It remains to point briefly to the fruit of his faith. Pre-eminently there was his great sense of the seriousness of life, and of sin. " Ah," said he once, to a friend, in what seemed grave and solemn monologue, " the sense of sin—that is the great want in modern life; it is wanting in our sermons, wanting everywhere." His retirement from public life was no mere retirement to *otium cum dignitate*: but supremely a season of grave preparation for his appearance before " the moral Governor of the Universe "—to use the phrase of his great master, Bishop Butler.

But that seriousness was no mere source of remorseful gloom. Indeed, what modern life may have seemed to gain by its lighter view in breadth of joy, it has lost in depth. For Gladstone walked in a steadfast trust in the faithful mercies of a forgiving God. The proverbial contempt of a man's valet might be expected in his secretary. Yet it is his secretary who recalls how " the spell by which my great master and leader held me was the sense that, amid all the turmoils and distractions of the most secular and most exciting occupation, his inner life was lived unbrokenly with God." And again: " as I turned away [from his deathbed] I felt I had been on the Mount of Transfiguration and had seen a glimpse of Paradise through the Gates Ajar."

That simplicity of trust in the abiding mercies of God is seen in his especial love for the hymn " Hark, my soul ". It is seen supremely in his childlike faith and devotion at the great Sacrament of the Altar. In his one hymn we seem to have a great theology breaking into song. Readers may recall the picture of an eyewitness of the great statesman at his Communion upon the Sunday after the Queen had commanded him to form his first administration.

He had received the Sacrament: communicants passed up and passed back: but he remained at the altar, lost in communion with his Master till the service's end. So at last a friend wrote of his *viaticum* on the Friday in Passion Week: "The altar: the crucifix: his rich voice swelling out with that deep devotion in the *Gloria* and in the confession: his determination to get out of bed and kneel for the confession, absolution and reception—it was not to be forgotten. Then after his breakfast he went to sleep, and is 'sleeping the sleep of a little child'."

In practical service Mr. Gladstone might have sheltered himself against its call behind the political toil that left England a happier place through many now accepted reforms: or even behind his princely generosity to great and good causes. But he would not. He sought some task, the discharge of which would entail some humble and humbling office. The task that he chose in the presence of one intimate friend was "by God's help not to rest unless he was able to bring back from the dreary wilderness of sin those whose lives have been ruined by man's selfishness, man's thoughtless cruelty." To that humble and humbling office he gave himself, and it is well known how the vermin that crawl in every political lobby sought to make capital out of it. One person, however, was never troubled with suspicion—his devoted wife, who when she knew or guessed that he was upon these errands of mercy was careful to see that refreshment awaited him upon his late returns.

In the opinion of F. D. Maurice his Aristotelianism prevented him from entering into the feelings of Rationalists sufficiently to refute them. Yet he twice promoted Kingsley, fought for Maurice in the King's College, London, controversy, trusted Temple early and late, and in his old age grew to a belief in Conditional Immortality—though in this he laboured characteristically to show its accord with the Catholic Creeds of the Church. Of the other two parties in the Church he was a living reconciliation. To the end of his days he spoke with avowed loyalty as an Evangelical: but built upon that foundation the structure of the Catholic Faith. If such a remark may be allowed in this journal, it would seem from his life that, were the parties to cease from being uncomplimentary to one another, they would find themselves complementary: the Evangelicals guarding the great foundations of the Gospel of Redemption and watching vigilantly against the inroads of mere routine upon true devotion, the Catholics building upon those eternal foundations an edifice worthy of the City of God.

With these words we leave the great warrior. Nothing new to theology may have been brought forward in this article: but it may give some picture of him of whom (the then) Lord Hugh Cecil spoke at his death as "the patriot citizen of the City of God." At the least, in Newman's words upon Dr. Routh, it may serve to report to a forgetful generation what was the theology of their fathers.

CHARLES GORE

By THE LATE BISHOP HUBBARD*

AT first sight Gore's life-history appears like nothing so much as a bundle of paradoxes. An aristocrat by birth and temperament he appeared in *Vanity Fair* over the caption of " An Episcopal Radical "; a Biblical scholar denounced by Liddon as a Modernist (or in the phraseology of the day a " Liberalizer "), and by Fr. Ignatius as an infidel, he is castigated by Dean Rashdall as a tyrannical traditionalist; the founder of a religious Order he was the immediate cause of driving another Order out of the communion of the Church of England; according to Kensit a disloyal Romanizer, according to the first Lord Halifax the man who threw a spanner into the works of the Malines conversations; a convinced Anglo-Catholic who was more rigid in his regulations for controlling the Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament than the majority of his more Low Church brother bishops.

But no man can achieve greatness whose character is simply a mass of contradictions. A personality which exercised such influence as his must be a thoroughly integrated personality. Where can we find his "Golden thread?" We must start, I think, with that queer piece of autobiography, almost the only bit of autobiography to be found in Gore's writings. Writing towards the end of his life, in 1921, in the preface of his *Belief in God*,[1] he says:

> I have since my childhood been what I may call a Catholic by mental constitution. I remember very well, when I was eight or nine, reading a book by a Protestant author—a Presbyterian I think—entitled *Father Clement*, about the conversion of a Catholic priest to Protestantism. I have never read it since. I had been brought up in ordinary old-

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* The substance of a lecture delivered shortly before his death.

[1] We are indebted to Messrs. John Murray for permission to quote from Vol. 1 of the trilogy entitled *The Reconstruction of Belief* which is still in print: to Messrs. J. M. Dent & Sons for passages from *Edward Stewart Talbot and Charles Gore* by Albert Mansbridge: and to Messrs. William Heinemann for extracts from Dr. Prestige's *Life of Bishop Gore.*

> fashioned English Church ways. I had only attended very Low Church services. I had never heard of the Oxford Movement. I knew nothing about Catholicism, except as a strange superstition called Popery. But the book described confession and absolution, fasting, the Real Presence, the devotion of the Three Hours, the use of incense, etc., and I felt instinctively and at once that this sort of sacramental religion was the religion for me.

And he goes on (and this, I think, is really valuable as a clue to his attitude all through life):

> From that day most of the people who influenced my intellect when I was young were agnostics or Protestants or "Outsiders" to the Catholic faith—Carlyle, Ruskin, Edward Bowen, T. H. Green—but this predisposition remained quite unaltered. My mental life has consisted in the process of confronting such predispositions with the results, so far as I have been able to see them, of philosophy and science and criticism (with a native tendency always to anticipate the worst), and to seek a unity or synthesis in which all the light I could get would be allowed full force, without my innermost self being quenched or blinded.

There, I think, and especially in the last sentence, we can find the clue to much that would seem puzzling in his action. He always claimed that since his undergraduate days he had been certain that he must be in the true sense a free-thinker, and that "Either not to think freely about a disturbing subject or to accept ecclesiastical authority in place of the best judgement of my own reason would be for me an impossible treason against the light". But he also felt that truth is not arrived at by the action of the reasoning powers alone. He quotes the experience of the musician or the artist as an example of an approach to truth which does not come by the way of ratiocination but by a way of intuition, and while quite alive to the fact that "the most masterful convictions reached by the power of emotion in the human soul may be pure delusions, they may correspond to nothing in the realities of the world" (*Belief in God,* p. 37), yet he held that this way of intuition is a real way of approach to reality. He quotes, "The rest may reason, it is we musicians who know". Such intuitions have, however, to be tested in some way, and the test which I think he seems to apply is the question as to whether such conclusions "judged over a long period and a wide range of humanity have in fact given to those who accepted them a new power in life". In this test he would also include the conclusions of our reasoning powers, regarding them, not as the sole avenue to truth but as the complement of the intuition, following it up and either confirming it by occupying, so to speak, the ground over which the " prejudgement " has leaped; or else, by contradicting it, causing it to be reconsidered or discarded.

It was during his Fellowship at Trinity that the first particular event which was to have a decisive influence on the future direction of his life took shape. This was his being drawn into what H. Scott Holland called " The Holy Party ". It was a small group of Dons who used to meet yearly in the Long Vac; take a country vicarage and do the duty for a month, saying the daily offices together, while systematically discussing theology. The group included Holland himself, Edward Talbot, Francis Paget and J. R. Illingworth. They were already much exercised upon the way of reconciling the claims of reason and revelation; the fruit of which first came before the world in the publication of *Lux Mundi* in 1889. But before this time Gore had passed from Trinity to join the distinguished succession of Vice-Principals of Cuddesdon, and after three years had been appointed the first principal, or, as it was officially called, " Principal Librarian ", of the newly-founded Pusey House.

This was perhaps the most momentous period of Gore's life. It witnessed four important developments; the public emergence of Gore himself as a champion of the Creeds; the formation of the Society of the Resurrection, the founding of the Christian Social Union and the publication of *Lux Mundi*. But besides and surrounding all that, it saw Gore, by virtue of his own personality and gifts, rapidly become the most potent religious force in Oxford. There had been nothing like it since the great days of Newman. Undergraduates flocked to him, and Gore discoursed freely about men and things over an apparently limitless range. His knowledge was immense; his memory surprising.

And shining through all the learning and all the good fellowship was Gore's transcendent spirituality. His Principal at Cuddesdon had said of him: " Whatever he says or does he bears witness to the Presence of God ". This it was which most of all fixed itself in the minds of those who were brought into touch with him at all periods of his long life. One who only met him for the first time in his old age has borne this witness: " I went to Grosvenor Chapel on the last Sunday in Oct. 1929 and as we entered I heard the Litany being read as I had never heard it before. My companion whispered to me 'It is Bishop Gore'. It was a revelation of the beauty of holiness. . . . Then at the Sung Eucharist he preached on 'The Communion of Saints' with a text from the Book of Revelation, and one could almost imagine that it was the writer of the Revelation himself who was in that pulpit. He led us to the very brink of the Unseen, and towards the end he said: 'You know, we often spend our time deploring "Our unhappy division!" I would remind you that the great Catholic Church which is above' (and he looked up to the heavens and spread out those expressive hands of his) 'is undivided. If I may say it very reverently, the Church on earth is but as it were the lower limbs of the Body of Christ, the Head is above'". (The Rev. H. A. J. Pearman, quoted in Mansbridge's *Edward Stuart Talbot and Charles Gore.*)

His emergence as a public defender of the Creeds was brought about by the appearance in the *Fortnightly Review* early in 1887 of an article by Canon Fremantle of Canterbury, the meaning of which Gore understood to be that in face of the advance of science and criticism the idea of an authoritative supernatural revelation had become untenable. This was followed by an anonymous publication, entitled *The Kernel and the Husk,* which attacked the specific belief in miracles and advanced the claim that candidates for ordination, or pious clergymen who had lost a portion of their former faith, should be permitted to recite the Creeds and prayers of the Church as the mouthpiece of the congregation, but with personal reservation about the truth of their contents. Gore's rejoinder took the form of a sermon preached before the University on Trinity Sunday 1887, and afterwards published under the title of *The Clergy and the Creeds.* In it he stated his position, a position from which he never swerved. "The language of the Creeds", he declared, "is startlingly positive", but the avowed object of the new reformers was to destroy the distinctive character of the Christian Creed by permitting its familiar use in an unnatural sense. The Christian faith was a revelation of the being and character of God. It was the sole basis of the Christian assurance that God is, in the fullest sense, Love. It was a supernatural revelation, rationally credible indeed, but with its whole force and security dependent upon the historic occurrence of a divine act in the Incarnation. This could be believed or rejected, or it could be doubted by an honest agnosticism. But he could see no justification for the claim "to make public and solemn profession in church of dogmatic belief in what is with equal publicity outside of church denied or declared uncertain: to appeal to God in language of solemn supplication or adoration in virtue of facts which are, under other circumstances, declared incredible". The Church existed not primarily to seek truth, nor to keep society together, nor to make men comfortable, but to bear witness to a once-for-all delivered faith and to preach a gospel of specific good tidings. Such a society "cannot welcome into its ministry with any show of reason men who are content indeed to use its language, but only if they may repudiate its meaning".

The second great and pregnant event of this period was the formation of the Society of the Resurrection. Originally intended to form a spiritual link between the clergy at Pusey House and the priests of the Brotherhood of the Epiphany at Calcutta, which had been formed by Gore's friend, Marsham Argles, and had been visited by Gore himself after Argles's breakdown in health in 1883, its members had set before themselves from the start the deliberate intention of feeling their way towards the foundation of a regular religious Community. But a vast amount of thought and research, in all of which Gore took the lead, was necessary before a constitution and rule was evoked which gave expression to the conception which they had in mind, an adaptation of all that was best in monasticism to modern conditions and needs. It was to be a brotherhood, bound by a minimum of rules, and guided rather by the corporate mind of the whole than by definite regulation or by the authority of an abbot; a Brotherhood in which eccentricities should indeed be pruned but individual character nourished, and into which each member should bring his own particular gifts without thought of personal distinction, or advancement, but to the enrichment of the whole. To this end the superior was to be obeyed within the limits of the rule, but the governing power was to rest with the general chapter.

These principles here laid down for the guidance of the Community were to guide Gore later in his administration of a diocese, notably the realization of the strength which comes from the acceptance of discipline and the formation of a common mind. But there they were not so easy of attainment.

Gore with five others made his profession in the Community of the Resurrection as its first members on July 25, 1892. He was elected Superior, or " Senior ", as he preferred to be called, shrinking from the term Superior, at every election until his elevation to the episcopate ten years later.

This short summary does not, of course, do justice to the efforts required to bring the Community into being; but no one who reflects for a moment upon its history from that time to this and all that it has meant to the Church of England by the flame of its own spiritual life as well as its help to clergy and laity by retreats and conferences, by its mission work at home and abroad, and perhaps above all by its provision for the training of ordinands, can have any doubt of the supreme service which Gore rendered to the Church in its foundation.

The Christian Social Union was not Gore's creation; if it could claim any one founder that man was Scott Holland. But from the first Gore became one of its most active and influential members, and a vice-president along with Holland. Westcott, then Canon of Westminster but soon to move to Durham, was its first president.

The objects of the Union were threefold; to claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice; to study in common how to apply the truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic conditions of modern times; and to present Christ in practical life as a loving Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, a power of righteousness and love. How utterly these principles governed his own practice his whole after history goes to show.

It is interesting to compare his experience with that of Archbishop William Temple. Both experienced the opposition of those who in fact, though they might not have admitted it, resented the application of religious principles to business and politics. Both found that their zeal for social justice opened large fields of sympathy and friendship with men who, without this common ground, might have found themselves in opposition. In both cases the motive was entirely dogmatic. Both were ardent supporters of all movements for extending the benefits of education to the mass of the population, and especially of the Workers' Educational Association, which came into being during Gore's episcopate at Worcester. Unlike William Temple, Gore never served upon any of its committees, but it was his sermons at Westminster which inspired Albert Mansbridge to found it. Gore always insisted that the aim of education was not success in life but life itself, to open the door to fuller life. But he also often spoke on the text " Knowledge is power ". At the first meeting of the W.E.A. at Birmingham, during his episcopate, this was his theme. " The governing class in this country—the class to which I belong—may have made as many mistakes as ever you please, but it is nonsense to pretend that the conditions to-day are what they once were. You have the power, and it is for you to exercise it. Let us have less talking as though someone were being kept out of his rights ". The story of his famous five-minute speech to the same body at Reading in 1910 is probably well known, but will bear referring to. The trades unionists of Reading, unlike those of the Midlands, knew little of Gore, and there was considerable opposition when it became known that a parson had been invited to speak at a W.E.A. meeting, many even threatening to boycott it. But in the end most of them decided to go. The meeting was due to close at ten, and the previous speaker, a Labour M.P., ran on so long that when Gore came to speak he had only five minutes left. This he refused to exceed, but in that five minutes made what Dr. Mansbridge declared to be the greatest speech in the history of the association. After referring to the claims of the working classes to justice he went on: " On the other hand all this passion for justice will accomplish nothing, believe me, unless you get knowledge. You may become strong and clamorous and win a victory, you may effect a revolution, but you will be trodden down again under the feet of knowledge unless you get it for yourselves: even if you win a victory you will be trodden down again under the feet of knowledge if you leave knowledge in the hands of privilege; because knowledge will aways win over ignorance."

" The scene when Gore sat down ", writes Dr. Prestige, " was indescribable. All rose to their feet to applaud him. They cheered and cheered until the applause had lasted actually longer than the speech. From that instant the ' parson ' was regarded by all with enormous respect, and by some with reverent devotion. They had come to criticize, but remained to admire and to bless."

It was two years later, soon after he had become Bishop of Oxford, that Gore caused an investigation to be made into the condition of the working class in Reading, which revealed a very bad state of affairs. Gore spoke very strongly about this in a public pronouncement, and when a working man attempted to thank him, replied: " I only did that which it was my duty to do; I could not do other than speak out because I knew that the faces of the poor were being ground ". Another man kept the report of Gore's speech under his pillow at night. " Tears trickle down my cheeks ", he said, " when I think of this modern Moses doing his best to help the working classes out of the house of bondage ". (Prestige.)

The last great event of those revealing years of Gore's time at Pusey House was the publication of *Lux Mundi*. This was the fine flower of the work of the " Holy Party " in the realm of biblical theology. From the outset the aim which they had set before themselves had been " to attempt to put the Catholic faith into its right relation to modern intellectual and modern problems ". " It had ", in Dr. Prestige's words, " successfully wedded High Church principle to a Radical political outlook ". There still remained the task of bringing the theology of the Tractarian tradition into right relationship with the advance of literary and historical criticism of the biblical documents.

The book appeared in the autumn of 1889. It consisted of 12 essays by Scott Holland, Aubrey Moore, Illingworth, E. S. Talbot, R. C. Moberly, Arthur Lyttelton, Walter Lock, Francis Paget, R. L. Ottley and W. H. Campion. Gore was general Editor. Almost at the last moment it was found that there was no essay on the Holy Spirit, and Gore was asked to undertake this. In their preface the authors state that they are not writing as " guessers at truth ", but are attempting an " explanation of the Christian Creed ". In this connexion they quote the utterance of a French theologian, Père Gràtry, to the effect that the dogmas of the Church were but as an " unknown tongue to many of the best of his compatriots ". " It is not enough to utter the mysteries of the Spirit, the great mysteries of Christianity, in formulas true before God but not understood of the people".

The Oxford Press having declined the book by a slight majority, it was published by John Murray. Its appearance created a storm for which its authors were quite unprepared. Gore's essay was at once singled out for the most violent reprobation by the theologians of the conservative school. The front of his offending lay in his assertion that there was allegory and myth in the Old Testament, and that the allusion by our Lord to certain O.T. events does not close the question; and further, leading from this, the suggestion of a self-limitation in our Lord's human knowledge.

Liddon declared that he could never trust Gore again. Old ladies spoke of "that awful Mr. Gore who does not believe the Bible". The religious press almost without exception condemned it. Gore suffered much. The breach with Liddon cut him to the quick. But on the other hand the book was hailed as a deliverance by thousands, especially among the younger generation, including many undergraduates at Oxford. To them Gore appeared as the deliverer. "If Dr. Liddon could only offer them a Christianity impossible to believe and Dr. Jowett a religion which was not worth believing, where were they to look?" *Lux Mundi* broke their bonds asunder. The book ran through eight editions within a year. From it men learned for the first time that it was not necessary to anchor Catholic Christianity to a belief in the verbal inspiration of the Bible. "The snare was broken and they were delivered".

It is instructive to note the attitude of Gore and his colleagues under the pressure of this flood of abuse and misrepresentation on the one side and of adulation on the other. There is not the slightest trace of that intellectual arrogance which has too often marred the utterances of those who consider themselves in the van of intellectual progress. The attitude of the *Lux Mundi* party was otherwise. Their criticism was not of their opponents but of themselves; their first question whether they had been careless and unforeseeing, and so had thrown a stumbling block unnecessarily in the path of Christ's disciples. Some time later came a request from South Africa and from Australia for a cheap edition.

In the midst of all this *tohu-bohu* came the unsolicited offer to Gore of the Bampton lectureship for 1891—a most unusual compliment. Normally candidates have to make application and submit a synopsis of the lectures which they propose to deliver. This offer coming as it did was very acceptable to Gore. It gave him just the opportunity he longed for to affirm his loyalty to the Christian Creeds. The book when it was published under the title of *The Incarnation of the Son of God* at once raised him to a leading place amongst Anglican theologians.

There was, however, some opposition; the Vicar of the University Church, where the lectures were to be delivered, organized an indictment for heresy against Gore, which was quashed by the Vice-

Chancellor. At the delivery of the lectures the church was crammed to the very limit, largely with undergraduates. Some may have come expecting something startling or heretical. If so they were disappointed. What they heard, in the words of Dr. Mansbridge, was "the outpouring by a loyal and devoted Anglican of a burning personal faith in Jesus Christ, God and Man ". The noble concluding passage is well known:

> To you then, brethren, to you more particularly before whom life yet lies in opening promise, the document of God's offer in Jesus Christ is once again presented. It is black with signatures, it is red with the seals of those who in the generations that are passed or passing away have given in their assent that " God is true ", and have handed on to you the results of their faithful witness. You cannot evade your responsibilities; you must at the last issue confess or deny: you must sign or repudiate. Summon, then, to your aid every heavenly power to assist you in the great surrender which they make who, having steadily in view all that is involved in the faith in Jesus Christ, set to their seals for time and for eternity, " that God is true ".

The scene was not to be duplicated until 22 years had passed, and once again Gore was addressing a congregation of undergraduates in the University Church during the Mission which he had been persuaded, not without difficulty, to conduct. On the opening night the church was packed to suffocation, and a very large congregation attended regularly for a whole week. " It was on the night when Gore preached on Prayer that a brilliant Roman Catholic undergraduate from Balliol was found after the service, trembling with excitement. ' I have said the *Pater Noster* all my life ' he confessed, ' but I feel as if I had heard it for the first time to-night '. By a coincidence Fr. Maturin, then a Roman Catholic, was in the church that same evening. As Gore was returning to his lodgings he approached and said: ' This night has been an answer to my prayer. I have always longed to see the University Church filled with undergraduates, being taught real religion by a master of it '. Gore's only answer was to collapse almost to the ground." (Prestige, p. 367.) The conclusion of his final address was to repeat the final appeal from his Bampton Lectures of 22 years earlier; and on the next morning hundreds of undergraduates made their Communion. Gore came out from celebrating and knelt down in the vestry. Then, to the concern of all who were present, he burst into a torrent of weeping which went on and on: the eruption of the deeply affectionate and passionate nature which through evil report and good report he was ever keeping under strict control by an iron self-discipline.

The later phases of his life, by which he will be more generally remembered, only seem to me to be the extension, on ampler stages and with wider scope, of the powers and tendencies which informed this Oxford period. The Westminster canonry was really Oxford over again; the Abbey crowded for his sermons and lectures (on occasion even to the altar steps and the organ loft) by a somewhat maturer congregation than the undergraduates in the University Church: and the gatherings in his home in Little Cloisters. It was Pusey House on a wider scale. His vast literary output, which reached its highest level during the Westminster period, followed the expressed lines of *Lux Mundi* and the Bamptons, expository rather than speculative; his aim always to help men to a full faith and deep devotion to our Lord, and to that end to lead them into a fuller understanding of the revelation given through the Scriptures as interpreted and summarized by the Catholic Creeds.

Gore has been misrepresented as a pioneer of liberalism who under pressure deserted the flag. Even his close friend Dr. Mansbridge says that " it can hardly be doubted that . . . Liddon's condemnation of his *Lux Mundi* essay had a marked effect upon Gore's thought, tending to check his advance along lines . . . which were later travelled by some of his younger contemporaries ". It may be so; but I doubt it. The man who, in spite of his tremendous sense of the need of discipline in the Church and his own lifelong veneration for Archbishop Frederick Temple, could deliberately reject his repeated admonition amounting almost to direct command, and refuse, on a point of conscientiousness, to come and receive consecration to the episcopate as arranged for the next day, is not the sort of character who would be led into abandoning a course which he felt to be right by the disapproval even of such a friend as Liddon. The truth would rather seem to be that after *Lux Mundi* he felt that he had obtained the elbow-room which he needed to enable him to turn to what he always considered his primary task: the exposition of the everlasting gospel in terms which his age could understand.

It is the same with the story of his three episcopates (and what a dramatic and enthralling story they present when studied in detail!). If his short tenure of the see of Worcester was in the main taken up with his efforts for the division of the vast unwieldy diocese, which he succeeded in effecting in the incredibly short space of three years, his time at Birmingham exhibits in a most striking way the development on a large scale of the powers and interests which marked the Oxford days. Now he could give expression in action—not simply as an individual, but as a great Christian leader—to the passion for social righteousness and economic justice which was the object of the Christian Social Union, and could find allies and, indeed, close personal friends among those who were like-minded with him here, though widely separated from him in other respects, as witness the case of Dr. Dale the Nonconformist leader, and Sir Oliver Lodge the agnostic scientist. The tremendous importance which he placed upon discipline within the Church and the need to make surrender of personal predilections for the sake of attaining the strength of a corporate mind and policy (a course in which he led the way at the cost of much sacrifice), is a manifestation of the convictions which underlay the constitution adopted for the Community of the Resurrection. The speedy conquest by Gore, the uncompromising High Church bishop, of the predominantly Nonconformist city of Birmingham, was an exhibition on a far wider scale of the ascendancy which his wisdom, fairness and personal holiness had won for him over the Oxford undergraduates.

But to those who knew him best the outstanding impression of Gore as a bishop was of a great Christian who was also a great Father in God, with a supremely pastoral heart. Even the controversy in which he was engaged for the greater part of his life was really a manifestation of this. No one can understand Gore who does not realize that he believed that the honest pursuit of truth must in the end lead men to Christ; but that the mind might have to make a long journey in the wilderness before it reached its Promised Land. Hence, on the one hand he would demand of the laity the very minimum in the way of mental assent as a condition of membership in the Church. But he could not tolerate the idea that the message of salvation, which he held to be expressed in the Catholic Creeds, should be tampered with or watered down by those who were speaking as the authorized teachers of the Church; and he would certainly have agreed *ex animo* with another modern writer that to eliminate the miraculous element from the Christian Creed would be to destroy the true " pattern " of the faith and leave only a " filleted " version of Christianity, without definite outline or backbone. Hence, if a man found himself unable to accept the dogmas of the Creed he should be ready to make the sacrifice of resigning any official position which gave him the claim to speak in the Church's name, because of the harm that such a distorted presentation of its message might and would do to the faith of others. In his own words, " The Church will be wise to draw as few lines as possible; but it has to draw some lines. After all, it is the Church's calling to draw lines ". Right or wrong, it was the heart of the pastor which spoke here.

So we must leave him. Doubtless he made mistakes. He may well sometimes have drawn his lines in the wrong place. What place will be accorded to him by the verdict of posterity, I do not know. But I have no doubt of the justice of Albert Mansbridge's verdict when, at the conclusion of his memoir of Charles Gore, he writes: " . . . he lived in the kingdom of heaven, having in his strength as a great Christian affected the Church of England more than any other man of his time ".

Natural and Supernatural in the Miracles

By W. H. DEW

MIRACLE is defined in the Little Oxford Dictionary as " an event due to supernatural agency." This familiar conception rightly seizes upon the salient characteristic of any Bible miracle—its instant suggestion of God's power and goodness—but its weakness lies in the implied denial of any natural agency. This denial has been made by many, believers and unbelievers alike. Mozley in his Bampton lectures defined miracles as " visible suspensions of the order of nature ",[1] while for Hume " a miracle is a violation of the laws of nature ".[2] Definitions of this kind derive from a time when the laws of nature were supposed to be of an entirely mathematical or mechanical kind. On such grounds the miracles of Christ, for example, were so inexplicable that they could only be ascribed wholly to divine interference, or else be rejected altogether. Our present conception of natural law is less rigid and at the same time more extensive. The old idea of mechanism has been replaced by something akin to pattern, the search for iron laws has become the search for persistent patterns of behaviour traceable in otherwise diverse events. Such patterns are far reaching and it is doubtful whether any event lies wholly outside them. For instance, the healing miracles of Christ show some resemblances to the " faith-healing " of modern times; and although these resemblances are very limited, the fact that they exist at all suggests that these miracles do not lie wholly outside the natural pattern. The supernatural which undoubtedly characterizes them will not therefore be found in any alleged power to supersede or violate the natural. The supernatural may indeed affect the natural, perhaps by raising it to a higher level, but even this effect is so obscure that it cannot be taken as a distinguishing mark. The essence of the supernatural lies in quite a different sphere.

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[1] J. B. Mozley: *Eight Lectures on Miracles* (2nd edn. 1867), p. 6.

[2] David Hume: *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding,* Section X, " Of Miracles ".

In the gospels the outstanding fact about the miracles is an immediate sense of the power of God. The people were amazed and glorified God. In many cases this reaction was no doubt superficial, but in other instances, especially where there had been previous contact with the life and teaching of Jesus, the response was deep and its effect far-reaching. Particularly instructive is Peter's exclamation after the miraculous draught of fishes—" Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord " (Luke v. 8). This is a *religious* reaction to the situation. In circumstances where he might well have expressed mere surprise and astonishment, he confesses the deep sense of sin which is the inevitable accompaniment of any true apprehension of the presence of the holiness of God. In the miracle, and in the whole complex of events which led up to it and issued from it, the hand of God was at work—the authentic, holy God of the Bible. All who experienced the miracle felt this in a dim and confused way, but in Peter the effect was profound, it began the change which was to make him a fisher of men. Much the same is true of the healing miracles. They were felt by all to be due to the power of God, though only occasionally does the full depth and holiness of that power become apparent. This is well shown in the healing of the sick of the palsy, where Jesus claims to forgive sins. Here the Divine power is seen not so much arousing a sense of sin as in the supreme work of forgiveness. The effect on the various people concerned is significant. In the patient himself it must have removed the serious obstacles which were preventing the wholehearted committal of himself to God which was essential to his recovery. In the Pharisees it caused increased hardening of heart. The reaction of the onlookers was to give praise to God. It is perhaps significant that not until this miracle does Mark note this response in the people. He strongly implies that they believed previous miracles to be due to the power of God, but only after that of the healing of the sick of the palsy does he record " that they were all amazed and glorified God " (Mark ii, 12). What was formerly implicit has now become explicit, the miracle forming the climax of its group.

This strong religious quality, we submit, is the outstanding characteristic of the supernatural. Although in the miracles the supernatural is associated with striking occurrences, its essence lies not in these but in its ability to evoke a religious response. In this it does not differ from the supernatural as manifested in more ordinary circumstances. The cry of Peter—" Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord " has been echoed by thousands of Christians since his day and almost always in situations which would not normally be called miraculous at all; while the need for forgiveness of sins has been felt by multitudes in circumstances which outwardly at least have been far less dramatic than those of the helpless paralytic who lay at Jesus' feet. These events in which the majority of Christians have believed themselves to have been touched by the hand of God have only been ordinary in the sense that there has been no question of any violation of natural law. Otherwise, for the believer himself, the occurrence is most extraordinary. For him, the event is a crisis in his life, often the outcome of some disappointment, grief, or the like. It is what is nowadays sometimes called an " existential " or " ultimate " situation, a time when a person is pulled up suddenly and has to face life. If this takes a Christian direction it involves a deeper appreciation of his own sinfulness, together with an increased awareness of God's personal forgiveness and tender care and a renewal of the deeper springs of life.

We suggest that the awareness of God evoked by miracle is similar, although it is not aroused primarily by personal factors but by the unusualness of the event itself. Any unexpected happening may be the cause of a man realizing he is in the presence of a Power not himself. It has been asserted, for example, that in time of acute danger in war men nearly always turn to prayer, the fact of being suddenly confronted with a situation quite outside their control undermines their false confidence and makes them aware of a Power of whose existence they have previously been scarcely conscious. This association of the Divine with the unusual is deep-seated and primitive, but the tendency to attribute such happenings solely to some extra-natural agency is much more than the outcome of a naïve and pre-scientific metaphysic. It is due, rather, to an awareness of the working of the Divine power which is only possible when mans defences crumble before the unknown. God acts by breaking down such defences, indeed it has been said that the Gospel is " an attack on Man who is his own centre ".[3] Miracles are part of that attack, one way by which men are brought to face reality and know God. In the miraculous draught of fishes, the unexpected nature and magnitude of the occurrence quite threw Peter off his balance; his defences were pierced, he became aware of the holy presence of God, and he saw himself as he was—a sinner. In the same way, the suddenness with which the sick of the palsy took up his bed and walked—a happening all the more dramatic coming after Christ's searching question to the Pharisees—had the onlookers spellbound. They knew they were in the presence of God, and they glorified Him, saying, " We never saw it on this fashion ". For the man himself the experience was much more personal. It was the crisis of his life. Moreover his encounter with the Divine was before the healing rather than after. Yet in one important respect the outcome of the miracle was the same for both patient and bystanders. All felt touched individually by the power of God. The onlookers were " amazed ", each man felt moved at the core of his being. In miracle as in " ordinary " life, God speaks to each separate soul.[4]

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[3] E. Brunner: *Man in Revolt*, p. 9.

If the foregoing in any way describes its outstanding characteristic, then the supernatural needs no further vindication from the natural. Much of the discussion of miracle by Christians in the past has been vitiated by the feeling that they must assert the reality of the supernatural by pointing out some striking effect which it has on the natural. But if a miracle is essentially a religious event, and if religious events are religiously perceived, then such assertion is not necessary. Even if the whole of the miracles—the nature miracles, the healing miracles, and all the rest—were one day shown to be part of the natural order, this would in no way alter the fact that they were charged with supernatural significance and evoked a supernatural response. This simple solution of a natural order on which the supernatural is from time to time superimposed, as it were, may turn out too simple to be true, although it should be noticed that it is now tacitly accepted for the leading miracles of the Old Testament. However great may have been the religious response which these events originally evoked—and from their profound effect on the history of Israel this must have been considerable—the events themselves formed part of the natural order. The plagues in Egypt were doubtless connected with some exceptional flooding of the Nile; the waters of the " Red Sea " were pushed back by the wind or as the result of some geological subsidence; the wonders of Sinai were probably volcanic in origin, while those later on Carmel perhaps derived from atmospheric electrical phenomena; and so on.

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[4] On the idea of the unique being experienced in miracle there is an interesting passage in F. von Hügel, *Essays and Addresses*, i, pp. 57-58. For the suggestion (though the idea is not worked out) that the value of miracle " lies in the kind of psychological **shock,** in the sensible contrast, which it produces, and which makes **mystical** perception easier," see M. Nedoncelle: *Baron F. von Hügel*. pp. 96-98.

It is therefore not entirely unreasonable to suggest, as a tentative hypothesis, that the miracles of the New Testament also have a place in the natural order. This is implied when the similarities between the miracles of healing and modern " faith healing " are pointed out; insofar as these miracles resemble other mental healing they lose their uniqueness and become part of the natural pattern. The difficulty is to estimate how close these resemblances really are. There is a broad general similarity in that both types of healing are primarily mental, and both usually need some kind of faith. But there are big differences. If the Gospel accounts are to be believed, the healing in the miracles was much more swift and certain than is usually the case to-day. Moreover, such healing appears to have extended to all kinds of disease, and not have been confined to " functional " disorders with which modern psychotherapy is mainly concerned. Finally, in some striking cases of modern healing, faith has played little or no part at all. Nevertheless the number of miracle stories in the Gospels unwittingly exemplifying the technique of " suggestion " is significant.[5] These include not only cases where disorder may fairly be presumed to be primarily nervous or functional, but others where it was probably in the first place bodily or organic. If the Gospel accounts are reliable, then these cures must have been due to some obscure faculty of healing, at present little understood; though the fact that this faculty used, and expressed itself through, the mechanism of suggestion is an indication that it was natural in origin. The unused powers of the mind are immense and what is normally latent may be aroused in special circumstances. An example of a rather different kind of faculty so aroused is that of " psychic " or " telepathic " powers, which can sometimes be quickened to an extra-ordinary degree.[6] There can be little doubt that powers of this kind were among the factors operative in miracles like the healing of the centurion's servant or the Syrophoenician woman's daughter, both of whom were healed at a distance. Also, it is just possible that some obscure form of precognition may lie behind the miraculous draught of fishes and that psychokinesis—the influence of " mind " over " matter "—on a grand scale may be an important factor in such a miracle as the stilling of the storm.

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[5] Writers vary in their estimates. L. D. Weatherhead: *Psychology, Religion and Healing* (1951) pp. 51 ff, gives a list of ten with two further groups of four in which suggestion plays a more subordinate part. For a different list and even more cautious treatment see E. R. Micklem, *Miracles and the New Psychology* (1922) p. 130. For some of the medical difficulties in the way of such " explanations " see R. J. Ryle, *The Hibbert Journal* (1906-7), Vol. v, pp. 572 ff.

There is an understandable reluctance to think of the mind and work of our Lord in such terms, but it may be doubted whether it has any better foundation than the reluctance of an earlier generation to recognize, for example, His limitations in purely human knowledge. Yet in spite of these — or rather, because of and through these limitations—the eternal Word made Himself heard. In the same way, through the natural if obscure therapeutic and psychic powers of Christ men were touched by the supernatural holy power of God. That power used the natural, but never destroyed it; called out new faculties, and transformed but never dehumanised them. We need a conception of Nature being raised to a higher level, yet still remaining Nature; just as personality is always quickened under grace but not submerged, or as the moral law is transcended by love but not destroyed. At present this must remain an affirmation of faith and cannot be proved. But it may well be that as time goes on and knowledge of human personality increases, that what is now obscure may come to be recognized as part of normal human nature, and that Christians will learn to say of the miracles, "We find Nature everywhere, but Nature in its Master's hand".[7]

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[6] For the suggestion that such powers are part of essential mental make-up, but have been repressed in evolution so that man can deal more effectively with the visible world of sense, see G. N. M. Tyrrell in *The Hibbert Journal* (1950-51), vol. xlix, pp. 48, ff; pp. 165 ff; see also the same author's *Home Faber* (1951).

This may be applied to the supreme miracle of the resurrection of Christ. Even here we may discern a natural element, although it has been greatly intensified by the supernatural. The natural element was that in Jesus which would normally have survived death. Expositors are usually so anxious to point out that the resurrection is more than a guarantee of immortality that the factor of natural survival is overlooked. Yet Jesus must have had whatever powers of survival are inherent in human nature. There are strong philosophical arguments for such survival, and experimental evidence is now accumulating which points in the same direction.[8] Whatever continues beyond death, and however mysteriously, also continued in the case of Jesus. But it was immensely enhanced. In Him the natural was raised to an entirely new level by the supernatural, by the life which expressed itself as perfect obedience to the Father's will. He became "obedient even unto death, yea the death of the cross. Wherefore also God highly exalted him. . ." (Phil. ii, 8, 9). In the resurrection this overwhelming Risen Life is united to the "ghost" or "spirit" of survival and has given it a fulness—a "body" in fact—quite beyond anything in our experience. The two factors, survival and the risen life, are each just within our experience; but taken together and in their fulness they are quite outside it. The resurrection is the first fruits of another sphere, in which the natural is wholly taken up into the supernatural and where the tension between the two is finally resolved.

In conclusion, as summing up the ideas here put forward, we offer the following tentative definition. "A miracle is an event, unusual but related to the natural order which arouses a sense of the supernatural of the same quality as that evoked in any other deeply religious situation." A conception of this kind not only recognizes miracle as primarily a religious occurrence but as one in which the natural order plays its part, even when it is raised to a higher level. In this way miracle becomes part of the Gospel, as it surely is in the New Testament, and not merely the external support which it afterwards became in conventional apologetic. Also, by trying to find a place for miracle within the natural order, such a conception makes easier the belief that these events actually did occur. It is sometimes rashly said that science cannot answer such questions.[9] This is true if we are seeking rigid proof, but not if we are content to deal in probabilities. Patient work over three centuries has shown that there are natural patterns underlying all phenomena and that these patterns tend to persist and to recur. The more a miracle resembles some other event, the more likely it is to be part of one of these patterns and the greater the probability that it occurred. Whether in fact it did occur must also depend on the reliability of witnesses, the tendency of an unscientific age to heighten the miraculous, and so on; but if there is an underlying probability that such an event is possible, these considerations need not be excessive. The mind can then get past the crucial but otherwise barren point of occurrence, which has bedevilled the discussion of miracle for the last two hundred years, and pass on to the more fruitful questions of meaning and significance.

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[7] The words were used originally of the miracles of the exodus. See F. C. Cook: *Exodus* (Speaker's Bible, 1877), p. 241.

[8] See e.g. H. H. Price: *The Hibbert Journal*, (1948-49), xlvii, p. 106.

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[9] e.g. A. Richardson: *Christian Apologetics* (1947), p. 174. " Whether or not the miracles of the Gospels really happened is not a question which can be even discussed with propriety from the stand-point of the physical sciences."

William Dell: New Model Army Chaplain

By LEO F. SOLT

When historians chronicle the affairs of the English Civil Wars, they frequently refer to the Parliamentary forces under Oliver Cromwell as an army of Saints. This appellation generally suggests a pious Bible-reading, Psalm-singing soldiery which forsook shops and fields for pikes and muskets in support of "the good old cause" of Parliament against the King. These intimations of piety were well expressed in the words of William Dell, one of the New Model Army's chaplains, when he wrote that "*the Lord, hath* poured forth [the Spirit of Prayer] *upon* many *of them in* great measure; *not only upon* many *of the* chief Commanders, *but on* very many *of the* inferior Officers, *and* common Troopers; some of *whom, I have by* accident *heard* praying, *with that* faith *and* familiarity *with God, that I have stood* wondring *at the* grace."[1] To men like Dell, such as his fellow chaplains Hugh Peters and John Saltmarsh, the New Model was an army of men who were possessed by the Holy Spirit, and therefore were convinced of their own salvation before God. Indeed, according to Dell, these Army Saints were so completely assured of their own spiritual justification—of the very presence of God in themselves—that "*every* battel *wherein we have* fought, *we have* prevailed . . . (*not by our* valour, *and* weapons, *and* strength) *but . . . because* God *hath been in the* midst *of us*."[2]

These concepts of Sainthood, however, began to disturb those whom Dell later described as his old enemies in Parliament and in London:[3] Robert Baillie, Samuel Rutherford, William Prynne, Christopher Love, and Thomas Edwards. To these men it seemed obvious that if God gave men the strength and power to triumph over the forces of the King, there was surely nothing to prevent God (through his vessels filled with the Holy Spirit) from turning with vengeance to other antagonists—the Presbyterian Parliament, for example. Therefore, it is only natural that these enemies should accuse the chaplains of seditiously disseminating this theology of the Spirit around the campfires and other gathering places of the Army from 1645-1647. And when they examined the sermons of Dell and Saltmarsh, they became alarmed. Edwards, Prynne, and John Bastwick all substantiated the formal charges made against Dell before the House of Lords in June, 1646, which accused him of preaching that "a State, an Assembly or Councell . . . . ought not to binde the Saints" and that "the power is in you the people."[4] Still another minister reported in a letter to Edwards that both Saltmarsh and Dell "pressed hard to have the law of Love and Liberty observed, that there may be an equality; that is their phrase and the Anabaptists."

I

The foregoing interpretations of Dell's beliefs arose partly from a sermon that he preached before General Fairfax and his soldiers in Marston church near Oxford on 7 June 1646 shortly before that city's capitulation to the Parliamentary forces. Following the sermon several anonymous citizens from London gathered around Dell to express their disapproval of his remarks. Within the next three weeks it became increasingly clear that others (besides the citizens from London) had been disturbed by the content of the sermon at Marston church. On Saturday, 27 June, the House of Lords ordered Dell to appear before them on the following Monday morning.

The Army chaplain that the House of Lords had summoned to appear before them received his M.A. degree and became a Fellow at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1631. Little is known of Dell's activities until 1645 at which time he was serving as minister at Yelden in Bedford. Shortly after this he joined the New Model Army, and it is quite probable that he was present at the following battles and sieges before the siege of Oxford: Naseby, Leicester, Langport, Bridgwater, Bath, Sherborne, Bristol, Devizes, Winchester, Basing House, Dartmouth, Exeter, and Cornwall. Like his friend Peters, Dell kept fast days, exhorted the soldiers to battle, and carried messages to Parliament from the Army. On 15 June, about one week after his Marston sermon, Dell performed the marriage ceremony between Henry Ireton, the Commissary-General, and Bridget Cromwell, Oliver's daughter, in Holton. Two days after the marriage the House of Commons gave him fifty pounds for his efforts in bringing to them the articles for the surrender of Oxford. This, then, is what we know of the man who walked into the Lords' chamber to hear the charges of the Peers.

When Dell presented himself before the Lords the following paper containing "Heads" or summaries of his sermon preached at Marston was read before the House, and it was vouched by several persons to be in substance the words which Dell delivered at that time.

1. There are no more of the Church of God in a Kingdome, then there be such as have the spirit of God in that Kingdome.
2. Neither Old nor New Testament do hold forth a whole Nation to be a Church.
3. Whatsoever a State, an Assembly or Councell shall say, ought not to binde the Saints, further than the judgements of those Saints shall lead them.
4. The Saints are those that are now stiled Anabaptists, Familists, Antinomians, Independents, Sectaries, &c.
5. The power is in you the people; keep it, part not with it.
6. The first party that rose against you, namely, the prophane ones of the Land, are already fallen under you; and now there is another party, the Formalists and carnall Gospellers rising up against you, and I am confident they shall fall under you.
7. They are willing to become subjects to make the Saints slaves, nay they are willing to become slaves themselves, that they may tread upon the necks of the Saints.

Immediately upon hearing the paper read Dell replied that he had not spoken these statements. After several days' delay he appealed for the dismissal of his case, but the Lords were determined to proceed with the indictment because they felt that it concerned the honour and privilege of the House. Accordingly, on 8 July they ordered the committee that was appointed to draw up a charge against John Lilburne to draw up a charge against Dell also. This was not to be the last time that Dell's name would be associated with that of Lilburne's. Edwards was to brand them both Anabaptist sectaries not unlike John of Leyden and Thomas Münzer, and Prynne called Lilburne one of Dell's Saints, both of whom, he argued, advanced "*seditious anarchiall Positions*."[5] Three days later the Lords ordered Lilburne to be imprisoned and fined, and his tracts, *The Ivst Mans Ivstification* and *The Free-Mans Freedome*, were ordered to be burned. No such fate as this was in store for Dell, however, for on 17 July he was excused from further daily attendance at the House and was never summoned to appear before them again. The case against Dell is not, however, finished. A new inquiry, albeit three hundred years later, can profitably be made in order to determine the actual extent of Dell's guilt to the alleged charges.[6] Upon Dell's vindication or conviction rests, in part, the truth of the relation between the theology of the Spirit and Leveller beliefs of religious freedom, sovereignty of the people, and equality of all men before the law.[7]

II

It becomes readily apparent upon the slightest examination of Dell's published sermons that he placed extreme emphasis in his thought upon the third person of the Holy Trinity.[8] The power of the Holy Spirit or grace, unassisted by any works on the part of man, transforms the Elect of Saints or God from sinning, carnal children of Adam into justified brothers and sisters in Christ. Sin is abolished once the Holy Spirit has converted a man to Christ. "As long as the Spirit of *God* dwells in the Flesh, it will still be reforming the Flesh to the Spirit, till the whole body of Sin be destroyed . . . till all be perfected." This perfectionism, in which the Saints have the nearest union with the Son of God that any person can have, is accomplished by prayer, hearing the Word of God preached, and faith.

With respect to prayer Dell said that the Spirit is given to them that ask for it. However, he added that God puts it in the minds of the Saints to ask for the Spirit. This seems to eliminate any element of choice (let alone action) on the part of man in acquiring the Spirit. As for hearing the Word of God preached, Dell states that men usually think that when they hear the Gospel and assent to it that it is true, that this is faith, and that they then are believers. For Dell this is only a very superficial type of belief which brings about no union with the Son of God because it only reveals what man has done for Christ and not what Christ through the Holy Spirit has done for man as in true faith. In short, Dell said that "*Freewill*, and *Natural abilities*, and *Works*, and *Duties*, were of no force at all to take away our Sin." Such statements of Christian faith seem to imply a doctrine of divine determinism which would endanger every phase of human responsibility in cleansing man from sin and justifying him through the Spirit before God. Actually this is but one side of a paradox in Dell's thinking which embraces *both* divine determinism and human freedom as prerequisites for man's justification. Despite Dell's insistence that man is a completely passive vessel before the Spirit of God, he nevertheless simultaneously insisted that all men everywhere must be exhorted to partake of the power of the Holy Spirit, which is communicated to all the "Faithful, and Elect in Christ Jesus." In his elaboration of human responsibility he urged men to resist the corrupt nature within themselves and to allow the Holy Spirit to mould them to the Divine nature. Once this is achieved men will have true belief and hence salvation before God.

The element of determinism in Dell's thought (and in Saltmarsh's) lies in the recognition that the *work* of salvation was done for the Saints by Christ on the cross without any assistance from man. Christ's death *alone* destroyed all sin. However, in order to make the work of salvation effectual in men's hearts, men must believe. And faith is "altogether beholding what *Christ* has done for us" and not what we have done for Christ which is unbelief. This latter statement concerning faith is the element of human choice in Dell's thought which is practically synonymous with Saltmarsh's statement that men are saved by being persuaded of Christ's love. Furthermore, as Dell recognised, it is very difficult to determine just which is the Spirit of God and which is "carnal reasoning" in men. He realized that everyone must have the skill to distinguish between those gifts that are natural to himself and flow from his own spirit and those gifts that are supernatural and flow from God's Spirit. With the question stated in this way (i.e. where does God leave off and man begin?) Dell's concept of faith became, in the eyes of its critics, a very subjective affair of the human conscience unhampered by ecclesiastical authority or the letter of the Word. Even Cromwell, sympathetic as he was to many of the views of the Army chaplains, foresaw this dilemma. Speaking at the Army debates at Putney late in 1647 he said: "I know a man may answer all difficulties with faith, and faith will answer all difficulties, really where itt is, but wee are very apt all of us to call that faith, that perhaps may bee butt carnall imagination, and carnall reasonings." And, as all those present at the Putney debates could testify, the imaginations and reasonings of men could indeed vary a great deal.

III

There is yet another way in which the element of human responsibility enters into Dell's theology. This is the voluntary gathering of the invisible church of the spiritual Elect into visible congregations of Saints, which, as Dell viewed them, were constantly increasing in number. Dell argued that the magistrate should allow all those that so desired, of their own free will, to gather into a communion of Saints. But Christopher Love, a Presbyterian, was quick to reply: "what is this but to say . . . that the Magistrate should give an universall Toleration to any who will call themselves Saints?" Dell was firmly opposed to the Presbyterian belief that a nation could be made into a single church. Against this concept Dell argued that the church of God is not identical with any single nation, but is gathered only from those with the "gift of the Spirit." It is to be noted that this affirmation essentially agrees with the first and second accusations made against Dell in the Heads presented before the House of Lords.

In opposition to the policy of compulsory "external Uniformity," which Dell called "the great *Diana* of the Presbyterians," the Army chaplain advocated along with his colleague Saltmarsh a policy of voluntary inward unity wherein all men are taught of God and agree on the same truth in accordance with their respective divine gifts. It is clear to Dell that external uniformity does not exist in civil affairs. For example, "Here in *England* you shall observe that *York* is not governed as *Hull*, nor *Hull* as *Hallifax* . . . there is no uniformity in the government of *Kent* and *Essex* . . . in *Godmanchester*, the youngest Son Inherits, in *Huntington* the eldest . . . and yet between all Counties, Cities, Towns, Corporations, Companies, there is Unity, though no external Uniformity." If this is true in the civil state, asked Dell, why was it not all the more true in the visible churches of Christ's Saints? While professing the need for unity, Dell, at the same time, regretted that such man-made terms as "Presbyterian" and "Independent" had grown up within the church. These terms, he thought, merely obfuscated the binding tie of all the Saints—the presence in them of the Spirit of God. This statement is in effect a denial of the fourth of the Heads with which Dell was charged in the House of Lords. He disclaimed to believe that any sect or religious group, assuming the name of Anabaptist, Familist, Antinomian, Presbyterian, Socinian, Seeker, Independent, or any other name, had a monopoly on the Saints of God. A far more accurate charge, as will be shown later, would have been that Dell believed the Saints were actually the soldiers of the New Model Army.

Dell's beliefs on religious toleration also grew out of his fear that the Presbyterians aspired to political power. "It is no proper

Presbyterial Doctrine, that does not (at least) meddle with the affairs of the State, which in time they may hopefully come to order." If the Presbyterians should control the state, Dell feared that they would "cunningly shrowd" the civil power of the State under the power of God. Such a doctrine, he maintained, would also deprive a man of his "State freedom," and to deprive a man of his "State freedom" for the sake of the kingdom of Christ was certainly never ordained by the Gospel. In Dell's thinking the church and the state—the sphere of grace and the sphere of nature—were separate, and this dichotomy was not to be diffused.

Besides the Presbyterians, there were the Erastian lawyers, such as Prynne, who also wished to mix the spheres of grace and nature, only they wanted the state to dominate the church. Prynne wrote that the conversion process, whereby the Saints are turned from "sinful lusts" unto God, did not completely destroy the sin which stemmed from Adam as Dell affirmed. As a matter of fact Prynne maintained that the Saints might fall at any time into "*scandalous sinnes and capitall offences*" though they would not fall totally from the state of grace. However, whenever they committed these sins, the civil magistrate should endeavour to make a public reformation both in the church and in the state. It was clear to Prynne that the corporal punishments of the civil magistrate do " convert the inner man, soul, spirit, even morally and divinely too, as well as he outward, and stop the current of mens sins."

Dell asserted that Christ's death had annulled *all* sins for those who truly believed that they were already saved by the Holy Spirit. Therefore, he believed that Prynne was grossly mistaken to hold that the civil magistrate should outwardly reform the souls of believers through an external conformity induced by legal measures because the souls of believers, according to Dell, had already been inwardly reformed through the perfectionism resulting from the gift of the Holy Spirit. Replying to Dell's attitude on sin, Rutherford wrote that if man could not sin against God, neither then could he sin against man. And it is easy to see how Rutherford's statement may have summed up the thinking of the Saints of the New Model Army. Christian liberty (freedom from spiritual sin and reliance upon the Holy Spirit) would become civil liberty (freedom from social sin and reliance upon the individual conscience). Actually Dell himself did not go this far. In a vindictive passage Prynne forced the issue that Rutherford raised. "Will Mr. Dell . . .

now proclaime to all the world in print . . . that none of all these workes of the flesh, No not Adultery, Fornication, uncleanesse, Idolatry, Witchcraft, Seditions, Heresies, Drunkenesse, Murder . . are so much as once to be punished with any outward corporall or Capitall punishment whatsoever, by any Christian Magistrate, Master, Tutor, or Parent but only with the losse of heaven? Is this the Reformation that these *New-lights* intend? the *Liberty of Conscience* they preach for, write for, fight for?" Dell on the contrary wrote that "*Libertines* and *Licentious* persons" were to be restrained and punished by the civil magistrate whenever they transgressed in any matter *against their neighbour and against civil society.* Liberty of conscience did not mean freedom to indulge in licentiousness nor was it to mean state control of the church or the religious consciences of men.

It was not Dell's belief, however, that there was no defence against Erastian power of the civil magistrate to meddle in religious matters. Therefore, in the event that the Saints should enounter difficulty with the magistrates in serving the Lord according to their consciences, Dell affirmed, "We ought to obey God, and not them." This was in substance the burden of the argument in the third of the Heads brought against Dell before the House of Lords. He was quite willing to reassert Calvin's provision for disobedience to a tyrannous magistrate who contravened the will of God. "This is your heritage, O ye servants of the Lord, to make void the force of every Weapon that is used against you, and to condemn every tongue that judgeth you." Such arguments as these may have also unwittingly provided the basis for the unrestricted statement, "The power is in you the people," which constituted the fifth Head brought against Dell in the House of Lords.

IV

It is important to note that the term "power" was a particular favourite with Dell, and it appeared in nearly all of his sermons. In Dell's theology "*the receiving of the Spirit, is the receiving of Power.*" This was the power which enabled the believer to do the very same things that Christ did. For Christ said "*all things are possible to him that believeth*; so that a *Believer* hath a kind of *omnipotency*, and all things are possible to him; because by *Faith* he lays hold upon the power of *God* . . . and so all things are possible to a Believer, who is partaker of that power of God."

The force of these words upon the soldiery of the New Model Army must not be underestimated. For it should not be forgotten that the New Model was a highly successful fighting machine with a long string of victories from the battle of Naseby to the siege of Oxford, and the soldiers had before them very tangible proof that "all things are possible to the *power* of *God.*" According to Dell the victories of the New Model were the works of the Lord, and it was not "*our* own Sword, *or* Bow, *but the* Lords right hand" which prevented defeat. Hugh Peters is reported by Edwards to have preached in a sermon that whenever he thought of the Army, he thought of Jesus Christ and how much the soldiers were like him. And Dell wrote: "*There hath been a very* sensible presence *of God* with us; *we have seen his* goings, *and observed his very* footsteps, *for he hath* dwelt *among us, and* marched *in the head of us, and* counsel'd *us*, and led *us, and* hath gone along *with us step by step, from* Naseby . . . *to* Oxford." Bristol, for example, was conquered, thought Dell, more by faith than by force. With God as their leader, the Saints were invincible, for it was written: "*Whosoever shall gather together against thee, shall fall for thy sake.*" Proof of this Biblical verse was the destruction of the King's forces in the West and North, and Dell warned that "if any new Party shall rise up again, they shall also fall in like manner." This threat is the substance of the sixth charge against Dell in the House of Lords.

Another term besides "power" that appeared frequently in Dell's sermons was "equality". Equality was a spiritual relationship in Dell's theology that existed among the Saints. No man is higher or lower than another in the kingdom of God, and the power of the Spirit is equally divided among them. This spiritual equality among the Saints is buttressed by Dell's exclusion of land, money, learning, and titles of nobility as prerequisites for Sainthood. In his mind it was every bit as easy for a poor mechanic to become persuaded of Christ's love through the Holy Spirit as it was for a nobleman or for a king. On the subject of poverty Dell, while delivering a sermon before the House of Commons in November, 1646, called the Commons' attention to "*the oppression of the poor, and the sighing of the needy*" in the kingdom. He requested them to render justice to the poor and to relieve them from their oppressed condition. Whereupon he warned them, "If you will not do God's work in the Kingdom, which he hath call'd you to, he will do it himself without you." And what better way was there for God to act, in relieving the suffering of the poor, than through His Saints, who, as co-inheritors of the Holy Spirit, believed that they acted with the power of God?

Not only was it theoretically possible for a person of the poorer sort to be a Saint in the New Model Army, but Dell also believed that practically all of the soldiers and officers of the New Model, rich or poor, actually *were* Saints of God. He was confident that there were as many godly Christians in it as in any gathering of men in all of the world. "*I have seen more of the* presence *of God in that* Army, *than amongst* any People *that ever* I conversed *with in my life*." And Hugh Peters wrote: "One thing there is most singular in this your Army: that whereas soldiers usually spend and make forfeiture even of the civility they bring into other armies; here men grow religious, and more spiritual-thriving than in any place of the kingdom."

It would not be far from the truth to say that Dell thought of the entire New Model Army as a "gathered church" of Saints already saved from eternal perdition by the Holy Spirit. As a matter of fact Richard Baxter had been asked to form Oliver Cromwell's troop into a gathered church several years before, but Baxter, much to his own regret later, refused the request. As a gathered church the Army exercised a dual function: it was both a religious praying church *and* a civil fighting machine, i.e. what Dell called the sphere of grace and the sphere of nature. As Dr. George Johnson correctly commented, the Saints were so imbued with the feeling that they were motivated by the power of the Holy Spirit that they could not divorce it from any aspect of life. Therefore, it might sometimes be very difficult, for those soldiers who followed Dell's teaching, to separate their actions as Saints, wherein they were all equals, and their actions as soldiers, wherein they *might be led* to act as equals.

Indeed, Dell found some close similarities between grace and nature which he published in a pamphlet entitled, *The Way of True Peace and Unity.* Just as he contrasted the political unity of Hull and Halifax with the ecclesiastical unity of Presbyterianism and Independency, so also in this tract he compared the rights of congregations of Saints to gather together with the rights of people in free societies. "For if every free Society hath power to chuse its own Officers, much more hath the true Church this power; being (as is said) the freest Society under Heaven."[9] In this analogical reasoning, which was first observed by Professor A. S. P. Woodhouse,[10] Dell further argued that as evil officers in civil societies are removable by those who created them, so also the church has the same power. Here is Leveller doctrine—popular election and removal of civil magistrates.

This then is the evidence revealed by a post-mortem examination of Dell's appearance before the House of Lords. With respect to the Heads placed before that House, there is no evidence one way or the other regarding the seventh charge. It seems clear from the foregoing analysis that the fourth and fifth Heads were not in harmony with Dell's beliefs. Dell did not identify the Saints with any particular sect as he was charged in the fourth Head, but rather he looked upon the whole Army as the Saints of God. Furthermore, he did not say that the power was in the people as he was charged in the fifth Head, but, instead, the power of the Holy Spirit was in all of the Saints. Of the remaining four Heads (the first, second, third, and sixth) it may safely be said that Dell did say that with which he was accused.

It is significant to note that the fifth Head interpreted Dell's remarks so that they would have a much broader meaning than he originally intended them to have. The same thing happened to Dell a few months later. In January, 1647, several witnesses testified that he preached that "every believer was the Ark of Gods strength" whereas he was believed by some to have termed "the Army," instead of every believer, "the Ark of Gods strength." This phenomenon cannot be entirely explained by the statement that Dell could not possibly expect to receive fair treatment at the hands of his enemies. Dell's own theological beliefs must be largely held responsible for the line of attack that his critics took, for these beliefs easily lent themselves, through their insistence on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, to interpretations which even Dell and his colleagues perhaps could not foresee.

In summary, the soldiers of the New Model Army were frequently told by Dell and his fellow chaplains that the Holy Spirit of God was resident in their hearts. All of their sins had been annulled through Christ's death on the cross. Furthermore, if they would but believe that this work had been done for them without any help from man, then they were truly saved. Membership in no earthly society was evidence of this perfectionism; this was an affair strictly between the Holy Spirit and man. This intense

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subjectification of the conversion experience, manifested in the individualistic voluntary church principle, led to a belief in religious toleration for all those, whether Independent or Presbyterian or any other group, united in the Spirit. In order to protect his principle of religious toleration from the Presbyterian and Erastian policies of compulsory conformity Dell found that he had to separate the church and state (grace and nature). This dichotomy, however, did not preclude his realization that parallels were possible between the ecclesiastical structure of the church and the political structure of the state based on the popular election and removal of magistrates. It is important also not to be misled in assuming that a great disparity existed between grace and nature in the minds of the soldier-Saints on such issues as power and equality. That is to say, the Saints, enhanced with the very power and righteousness of God, were charged with combating all of the enemies of the Lord. Once the Army got in the habit of challenging the authority of the Presbyterian Parliament in matters of religion, there was nothing to keep it from doing the same thing when civil grievances arose between them. Once the spiritual equality of the Elect had been universally applied to the soldier-Saints of the Army, representing heterogenous social and economic groups, it would then be easier to include all men, whether in the Army or not, as equals, particularly if they asserted that the Spirit of the Lord dwelt within them. In brief, these ideas had reverberations in civil as well as religious affairs, reverberations that approached, although to some extent inadvertently, Leveller doctrines of individualism, sovereignty, and equality.

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[1] William Dell, *The Building, Beauty, Teaching, and Establishment of the truly Christian and Spiritual Church* . . . , London, 1646, p. 74, contained in William Dell, *Several Sermons and Discourses of William Dell, Minister of the Gospel* . . . , London, reprinted in 1709.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

[3] William Dell, *The Way of True Peace and Unity In the True Church of Christ* . . . , London, 1649, p. 180, contained in *Several Sermons*.

[4] Thomas Edwards, *The third Part of Gangraena*, London, 1646. p. 63; John Bastwick, *The Utter Routing of the whole Army of all the, Independents and Sectaries* . . . , London, 1646, "Epistle To the Reader"; William Prynne, *The Sword of Christian, Magistracy Supported* . . . , London, 1647, "The Epistle Dedicatory".

[5] Prynne, *op. cit.*, "Epistle Dedicatory."

[6] This attempt is fortunately facilitated through Dell's publication of the Marston sermon after his appearance before the House of Lords.

Feeling thus constrained to publish a defense in his own behalf, he affirmed in his introduction that "*the* whole truth *and* substance *of what was then delivered, is* exactly *set down*, and nothing abated; but rather some things farther pressed." (Dell, *Building, Beauty*, p. 68). Despite this statement the anonymous London citizens took a different view of the published sermon. They argued that "as very much is abated, which you then delivered; so something is added, of like words indeed, but of much different sense." (Dell, *A Vindication of certaine Citizens That lately went to the Leaguer* . . . , London, 1646, p. 8). In the absence of further testimony regarding this contradictory evidence, the truth can best be ascertained by placing Dell's published Marston sermon into the context of his other published sermons and writings.

[7] Two studies by Professor Haller and Professor Hudson have already introduced the subject of politics and religion in the New Model Army. William Haller, "The Word of God in the New Model Army," *Church History*, vol. XIX (March, 1950), pp. 15-33; Winthrop S. Hudson, "Mystical Religion in the Puritan Commonwealth," *The Journal of Religion*, vol. XXVIII (January, 1948), pp. 51-56.

[8] See George A. Johnson, " From Seeker to Finder: A Study in Seventeenth-Century English Spiritualism before the Quakers," *Church History*, vol. XVII (December, 1948), pp. 299-315.

[9] Dell, *The Way of True Peace*, p. 246.

[10] A. S. P. Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty*, London, 1938, Introduction, *passim.*

CORRESPONDENCE

N.T. QUESTIONS

Sir,—Mr. G. M. Lee suggests (C.Q.R., Oct.-Dec., p. 455) that the story of the Cleansing of the Temple has very likely been " misunderstood from the earliest times ". But it was certainly not misunderstood by the authorities of the Jewish Church when it took place. The testimony of the earliest Gospel (Mark XI 18) is that it was precisely this action on the part of Jesus which drove the high priests and the scribes into committee to arrange for his death. In fact, the Cleansing of the Temple was, so to speak, the last straw. To speak of it as " helping the tradesmen to remove their possessions " is to do violence to the text, which distinctly says that our Lord's action inspired the hierarchy with terror (ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ αὐτυὺ). Of course it did. Here was the prophetic protest again the whole sacrificial cultus which had been gathering momentum since the days of Amos and Isaiah gathered up into one superb act of what they naturally considered sacrilege.

Mr. Lee pleads in extenuation of his exegesis that of course it is " guess work ". One might venture to refer him to the relevant passage in James Martineau's *Seat of Authority in Religion* (p. 629):

> See then this witness of God standing at last on the pavement where his message was to be delivered and looking round on all things at the time of the evening sacrifice: and remembering the springs of his secret life, and what a " Kingdom of Righteousness " must mean to him, think how he would be affected by this sudden contrast with a local sanctuary and a blood-stained worship . . . . . . His love and veneration, clinging to the simple social piety of the synagogue in which they had been nurtured, and bringing no offering but that of penitence and trust, could hardly brook the sight of butchering priests and mangled victims and the smell of burning flesh, once deemed well-pleasing to God, now odious to men . . . . . . Descending from so high and pure an air he could hardly breathe within those stifling walls where clouds of incense made pretence of aspiration and the altar smoke did the work of prayer.

As to the " use of physical force " and Mr. Lee's attempt to explain it away; the use of a "scourge of small cords" and the possible result in a few minor casualties may be inconvenient to those who wish to perpetuate the " gentle-Jesus-meek-and-mild " caricature, but they can hardly be treated as a gloss or attributed to " a heightened account of the incident ". I prefer Martineau's " guess work " to that of Mr. Lee.

Yours faithfully,

Frank W. Moyle.

A MEMORY OF VAUGHAN

Sir,—The following passage appears in my father's diary dated Sunday, 5th September, 1875, Southborough:—

> Went to hear Dr. Vaughan in the little Church at the bottom of the

Common. The Doctor took for his text, " Brethren, I beseech you, as strangers and pilgrims ". A clear exposition of the text, and a forceful, interesting sermon.

He spoke of two extremes among Christians of the present day. First, those who said that true Christians, i.e. those who had been consciously " converted ", and who had no doubt as to their safety in Christ Jesus, were as truly strangers and pilgrims now as Christians were in the times of the Apostles. They had nothing to do with the world; they regarded it as a place of temptation, and that all worldly society was dangerous, worldly amusements unlawful, and all professing Christians who had not had exactly the same experience in their spiritual life themselves were not truly converted.

The other division considered that all who had been baptized were Christ's, and were partakers of Christian privileges and inheritors of the promises attached to those privileges; such gladly partook of all amusements and made recreation the chief occupation of their lives. They were in fact as liberal as the others were strict. The Doctor seemed to teach that what was right lay between the two extremes, though he considered the last nearer the truth than the first, and deprecated Christians keeping themselves aloof from worldly society and amusements. He said that by standing apart from these things they lost all influence. He also said it was not necessary to talk too much about your religious experiences. A consistent life is the greatest power for good.

I had two illustrations of the courtesy for which Dr. Vaughan is celebrated—one, as we were about to enter the church. I said I had had very few opportunities of hearing other people preach, as I was generally preaching myself, and was therefore greatly pleased at the prospect of hearing him.

" My dear Sir ", said the Doctor, " I would much rather hear you ".

The other happened as we walked out of church together. One of his Doves said, " I have forgotten my prayer book ".

" Let me run and get it for you ", said the Doctor.

Such kindness in such a great man is very winning.

I am, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
N. ALLEYNE LASH.

ST. CLEMENT

SIR,—The legend that St. Clement, in his journeyings on foot, was the first to take practical notice of the fact that wool, when used in a sandal to ease walking, had felting properties is said to be the reason why he was adopted as Patron Saint by the early felt makers, and, in turn, by felt hat makers.

Since we are often asked for information on this point, I am wondering whether you, Sir, or any of your learned correspondents can give any historical basis for the legend.

There are a good many churches in this country dedicated to St. Clement, who, I understand, is also regarded as the Patron Saint of fishermen.

Can anyone give the reasons why St. Clement was chosen ?

A. MORLEY,
Public Relations, Hatters' Information Centre.

REVIEWS

A VALUABLE BIOGRAPHY

OLD MEN FORGET. The autobiography of DUFF COOPER (VISCOUNT NORWICH). Rupert Hart-Davis. 21s.

THIS is a very good book of its kind. It is not one of the world's great autobiographies because Lord Norwich, though he has his reflective side, has been fundamentally a man of action and of affairs and such a man is seldom able or willing to give his readers a complete revelation of his personality: he leaves that sort of thing to the Boswells, the Rousseaus and the Amiels, whom he would not resemble if he could. Judging from this book alone, one would assume that the author's character had set at a very early age and that he had settled naturally and without serious questionings into the groove of conservative orthodoxy, political, religious and social, in which he has moved, with only superficial divergencies, throughout his public life. That is not likely to be the whole truth about a man who is evidently not a complete extrovert; but if he has had soul-searchings there is little trace of them here.

The book, in fact, is mainly though not entirely a record of external events, political and military, and the author's part in them; and that part, as the world knows, was a very considerable one. His acquaintances, indeed, have at times been tempted to wonder why it was not even greater than it was and why a politician of such outstanding abilities and force of character did not have a career comparable, say, to that of Mr. Eden, with whom he has many affinities. The explanation is now largely provided by his own frank admissions. Complete success in British politics requires a very rare combination of qualities—oratorical ability, debating ability (which is not the same thing), parliamentary popularity (which may not derive from either), popularity with the general public (which again is different from parliamentary popularity) and, when Ministerial rank has been attained, administrative ability, which implies a different set of qualities from any of the foregoing. Duff Cooper amply fulfilled the first three requirements; but he admits to having found it difficult to be " hail fellow well met " with what are called in Moscow " the broad masses ". It was not that he had no sympathy with their aspirations: " In Oldham ", he writes, " I had had a glimpse of the condition of the people and had realized that a man's head must be as wrong as his heart who denied the need of social reform "; but he lacked that something, called by friends breadth of feeling and by enemies coarseness of fibre, which makes a politician a popular as well as a parliamentary hero. His administrative record, too, was rather chequered. He admits that he " acquired little credit " at the War Office and could do nothing effective in the Ministry of Information: he thinks he did better at the Admiralty. It is understandable, therefore, that he should have achieved his greatest successes in diplomatic or semi-diplomatic posts, ending his public career in the Paris Embassy, where it would probably have ended in any case, had he never left the Foreign Service in which it began.

As a record of great events, however, and a commentary upon them, the book is of the highest value. As was to be expected, it is very well written and it incorporates contemporary material from the author's diaries and letters. We can thus look " behind the scenes " into many historical events and political crises; and the view is always interesting though too often depressing. The inner workings of the Chamberlain Government in 1938, for example, are revealed in all their chaotic futility: we see a weak and divided cabinet not merely browbeaten by the autocratic Prime Minister but deliberately kept in the dark on vital issues and induced to support policies distasteful to at least a great part of it in the belief that these were something different from what he was making them. Incidentally this explains why, as so many people have wondered, the author did not resign with Mr. Eden but waited until after Munich. Not only did he have a peculiar *penchant* for Mussolini, which apparently still persists to some extent—he can even write now, in face of all the evidence of Mussolini's premeditated attack on Abyssinia, that " Italy had good grounds for complaint " against that country—but he had no inkling of the fact that Chamberlain,

> while allowing his colleagues to suppose that he was as anxious as any of them to dissuade the Foreign Secretary from resigning, had in reality determined to get rid of him and had secretly informed the Italian ambassador that he hoped to succeed in doing so. Had I known this at the time, not only would I have resigned with Eden but I should have found it difficult to sit in Cabinet with Neville Chamberlain again.

Much the same picture is revealed in the account of the Cabinet discussions preceding Munich; and the reader of those pages can hardly refrain from repeating the justly famous lament of Oxenstierna: " With how little wisdom is the world governed! "

Even more interesting, perhaps, than the accounts of the events themselves is the picture which emerges of the social background of British politics before the last war—a background which, up to 1914 and in most respects even up to 1939, differed only in degree and not in kind from what it had been in the days of Palmerston. Politics were still mainly " an occupation for the sons of gentlemen " and a young Conservative who had the entry to the great houses could hope for a constituency within a few years of leaving college. The Liberal politicians, though less often of the aristocracy, moved in the same society; and thus in 1913 the author, a newly appointed Foreign Office clerk aged twenty-three, could find himself dining at the Admiralty with the First Lord, Mr. Churchill, and the Home Secretary, Mr. McKenna. From the first he was within the charmed circle; and his marriage to a duke's daughter and famous Society beauty, though afterwards popularly supposed to have given him his start, made in fact little difference except financially, when she made money on the stage: at first it even did him some harm with the public, until he had given convincing proof that he was much more than the consort of Lady Diana. His immediate acceptance in the highest social-political circles was not due to wealth, for he started with very little money, nor wholly to birth, for though his mother was of the aristocracy his father was not: it was due mainly to the social contacts which he had made through his mother's family connexions and through friends from Eton and Oxford. His own talents did the rest, but without such contacts it would have been long before he could have made them known in the right quarters. A career of this sort is hardly conceivable now, even in the Conservative party; and the illustrations given here of the society which made it possible would alone be enough to make the book of outstanding historical interest.

LAURENCE COLLIER.

ELIZABETHAN PARLIAMENTS

ELIZABETH I AND HER PARLIAMENTS, 1559-1581. By J. E. NEALE. Cape. 25s.

IN his *The Elizabethan House of Commons*, published in 1949, Professor J. E. Neale analysed the character of the Lower House under the great Queen, describing the type of men who sat in it, the conduct of the elections and the general procedure followed during the parliamentary sessions. In his new book he gives a detailed history of the proceedings in the Parliaments of the years 1559 to 1581, and it can be said without hesitation that the work will become essential reading for all students of the period. The book is a pleasure to read, for the story is one full of dramatic incident, and Prof. Neale has the skill to convey the sense of this drama to the reader even when relating the most detailed narrative or unravelling the most complex argument. The appearance of a promised further volume dealing with the remaining Parliaments of the reign will be awaited with impatience.

The book is the fruit of Prof. Neale's own extensive researches, supplemented by those of University of London students working under his direction on particular Parliaments and personalities. Day-to-day accounts of the parliamentary proceedings are given, the material being drawn both from the State Papers and from the diaries of members of the Commons. It is in the use made of the latter, less familiar sources, recording events from a non-official viewpoint, that the book is especially valuable. Most useful also are the full and lucid accounts of the more striking incidents in the parliamentary history of the reign, such as the debate on Strickland's inhibition in 1571, Hall's Case and Peter Wentworth's speech on parliamentary liberties in 1576.

In the course of his story, Prof. Neale brings out well the evolutionary character of the parliamentary history of the period, the growth in self-confidence on the part of the Commons and the significant first moves in the challenge to royal control which was to develop into the Stuart conflict. Yet we are never allowed to forget that as yet, despite incidents which were later to be cited as precedents for revolutionary actions, parliament was still a trinity of Queen, Lords and Commons in which the Queen was something more than a mere senior partner. The book illustrates admirably Elizabeth's technique of parliamentary management: her interventions in the course of debates by inhibitions and messages, her very free use of the veto, her employment of Privy Councillors to guide proceedings (though at the same time they seem to have been left a remarkable freedom of action on their own accounts as members), and above all the royal utterances in Parliament, by the printing of which in full Prof. Neale again earns our gratitude.

Concerning the behaviour of the members of the Commons themselves, Prof. Neale regrets that the biographical knowledge which we as yet possess is so limited. Without such knowledge of their private lives, the motives underlying the formation of groups and parties must remain to a considerable extent conjectural. This is particularly the case in connexion with the parliamentary activities in matters ecclesiastical. " A major theme in our story," writes Prof. Neale at the conclusion of his book, " has been religion." In each of the Parliaments of 1559-1581 there were debates on this topic, leading in nearly every case to the embarrassment of the government. Yet it is in its treatment of this aspect of the Parliaments' activities that the book is perhaps least satisfactory.

With the general religious history of the reign Prof. Neale is not, of course, directly concerned; yet it might be suggested that a more careful analysis, based on biographical data, of the motives which led members to discuss ecclesiastical matters at such length and with such persistence, would enable the reader to obtain a better idea of the true nature of the controversies in Parliament. Dealing with the Parliament of 1559, Prof. Neale presents again the arguments concerning the activities of the group inspired by the Marian exiles in forcing the government's hand over the Act of Uniformity which he advanced recently in the pages of the *English Historical Review*. These arguments are plausible, though necessarily to some extent conjectural. In subsequent Parliaments, as he shows, the " choir " of 1559 continued to be well represented. Nevertheless it is open to question whether all these reformers in the Commons were such genuine " Puritans "—in the religious sense—as they professed to be. Some undoubtedly were: the enthusiasm of individual leaders in the campaign is manifest. But what of the back-benchers, the majority of the members who, though less prominent in debate, voted for the Puritan proposals ? Were they really components of a Puritan party, persuaded in their consciences of the need for further reform for its own sake ? It is difficult to reconcile their professions in Parliament with much that we know about the secular interests and activities of the class from which they were drawn —squeezing favourable leases out of impoverished bishops and exploiting impropriated parsonages. Puritanism, moreover, might provide an avenue to political advancement. Leicester in the Lords assumed a leadership of the " Puritan party "; yet he was certainly no Puritan in private, and his public role was evidently a move calculated to strengthen his political influence. Was it not likely that many politically-ambitious men in the Commons—and Prof. Neale has demonstrated the extent of such ambitions in the Elizabethan period in his earlier book—would follow Leicester's example ? It is well to remember also, in considering the religious conflicts of this time, that Puritanism, as an attack upon the hierarchy and administrative organization of the Established Church, offered an ideal opportunity for the realization of those anti-clerical objectives dear to the sixteenth-century nobility and gentry and only partially achieved during the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations. Especially was this the case after the publication of the *Admonitions to Parliament* in 1571-2 had indicated that the Puritan programme was no longer to be a demand for reforms within the established order but a " root-and-branch " policy involving the abolition of episcopacy and of the existing system of Church Courts. The abolition of the bishops' sees would mean more ecclesiasical property to be transferred to secular hands, the hands that had earlier grasped the monasteries and chantries. The abolition of the existing Church Courts would not only remove institutions which were notoriously corrupt and greedy for fees but would free the laity from the inquisitorial activities of the officials whose probing into private morals and manners was never more resented than in this supremely individualistic age.

It might be objected that the consistorial discipline officially advocated by Cartwright and his fellow-Puritans would have proved a far more effective curb on immorality than the ancient courts had ever been. But it is arguable that many of the Members of Parliament, ostensibly " Puritan " but really " anti-clerical ", were trusting that, having used the fanatics to break the Establishment, they could then discard their tools before the constructive part of the Puritan revolution could be undertaken. The abandonment of the Puritan cause by the gentry in the mid-seventeenth century would seem to support such a view. The contrast between the Anglicanism of Queen Anne's squires ("there is scarce a presbyterian in the county except the bishop") and the Puritanism of their ancestors under Elizabeth I is difficult to explain except on the ground that the latter were in reality more anti-clerical than genuinely Puritan. When their anti-clerical objectives were achieved in the next century they lost no time in abandoning their more idealistic allies. Despite appearances in the Clarendon Code, the Church of Charles II never dared to exercise over the laity the powers claimed by the Church of Elizabeth I.

Similarly, with a view to drawing the distinction between selfish and altruistic motives, the part played by the lawyer element in the Elizabethan Parliaments might merit further analysis. The alliance of the common lawyers with the " Puritan " element in Parliament is well known, and men like Fleetwood, Bell and Yelverton figure prominently in Prof. Neale's pages. On the other side it is interesting to notice the stand made on behalf of " conservative " principles by Mr. Francis Alford. Alford, we are told, was a civil lawyer with experience of work in the ecclesiastical courts, and he therefore had a vested interest in the preservation of the existing order. How came such a man, with such apparently uncongenial attributes, to be elected ? Was he a solitary representative of his cloth in the Commons ? This again is a line of inquiry on which one would welcome further probing by an investigator so admirably equipped for the task as Prof. Neale.

F. D. PRICE.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH

A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND. By JOHN R. H. MOORMAN. A. and C. Black. 25s.

To write in one volume the history of the English Church is, as Dr. Moorman says in his introduction, like pouring a gallon of water into a pint pot. Faced by such a problem, a good scholar is bound to do one of two things. He can produce an illuminating essay which may throw a great deal of light on religious history without giving much factual detail, indicating the broad sweep of development and slurring over the problems of ecclesiastical organization, or he can write an exceedingly sound text-book which contains an immense amount of information about the growth and administration of the Church, while it seldom penetrates deeply into the religious life of the people of whom that Church was composed. For an historian to be really successful in either of these fields is in itself no small achievement. Nobody could demand that he should succeed in both at once.

In this book Dr. Moorman has deliberately chosen the second course. He has written a text-book, and it is as a text-book that his work must be judged. He has given us, in clear and direct narrative, the story of the development of the Church in England from its first stirrings in the time of the Roman occupation to the age of the broadcast sermon and the most recent Lambeth Conference, and he has done this without sacrificing thoroughness to his desire to interest the reader. The book is impressive in its scope, in its presentation of the most recent conclusions of modern scholarship, and in the admirable bibliographies given at the end of each chapter. These suggestions for further reading should be of very great help to those who are beginning to find their way in the study of English ecclesiastical history and who need wise guidance. Theological students, as well as all those—and they must be many—who seek a straightforward, objective and thoroughly reliable outline of the subject, will find that, at a price comparatively modest by to-day's standards, this book is a storehouse of information to which they will constantly go, and from which they will not return empty-handed.

Text-books are, of course, extremely hard to write and comparatively easy to criticize. Scholars are inclined to call them superficial, while other readers complain that they are unduly abstruse. Dr. Moorman has steered his course with great success between the two opposite reefs of unintelligibility and facile writing. If he errs at all, it is in trying to make his points clear by the use of sweeping generalizations. This is probably unavoidable. As he says, it is quite impossible to compress so great a subject into so small a span without making many statements which would, in a longer work, require much qualification. Nevertheless, generalizations may be dangerous in a society which is already too much inclined to vague and inaccurate thinking. Such statements as " The seventeenth century was an age of revolt against authority and absolutism " (p. 226) are reasonable in a discussion among trained scholars who have sufficient knowledge of the period to examine them critically, but it is probable that some of Dr. Moorman's readers, who are not equipped with his wisdom and scholarship, will use such phrases as an excuse for failing to use their own minds in considering seventeenth-century history.

Although in his introduction Dr. Moorman makes no claim to impartiality, he does, in fact, give an account of all shades of opinion within the Anglican Church with a fairness and objectivity which are wholly admirable. He also makes it clear that a strong stream of tradition runs, uninterrupted by the Reformation, the rationalism of the eighteenth century or the ecclesiastical legislation of the nineteenth, from St. Augustine of Kent to the present Archbishop of Canterbury, and from the earliest converts to the modern congregation. Yet the book is, by definition of the title which the author has chosen, a history of the Church *in* England and not of the Church *of* England. Those Free Churches which accept the Nicene Creed have roots which are as deeply embedded in the soil of medieval Catholic Christendom as has the Anglican Church, even if their stems have branched out in a different way. This surely is a point which Dr. Moorman, whose sympathetic account of the movement towards reunion is one of the best parts of a good book, must have considered deeply. It is therefore disappointing to find that John Wesley and his followers, alone of those devout people who have done so much to enrich the religious life of England, receive more than a very brief notice. It seems ungrateful to ask for more in a book which is already full of admirable material, but in this one matter it appears that more should be given in subsequent editions if the title of the work is to stand unchanged.

This is, however, a good book and one which should be of lasting value to a great company of readers. It is clear and sound, the work of a scholar who knows his subject and loves what he knows. An unusually full table of contents and an excellent index make it easy to refer quickly to a particular subject or period, while as a general introduction to the study of medieval and Anglican ecclesiastical history the narrative is comprehensive and balanced, enriched by many delightful quotations which should send readers hurrying to their original sources. If, of necessity, the book cannot go down to the deep springs of religion, it is certainly the product of a mind in which those springs are clear and strong.

ROSALIND HILL.

LITURGICAL STUDIES

CORPUS CHRISTI: ESSAYS ON THE CHURCH AND THE EUCHARIST. By E. L. MASCALL. Longmans. 1953. 15s.

IN this collection of essays Dr. Mascall puts together much material which he has produced and published in the last five years. Three of the essays have already appeared in this review, and others are available elsewhere. But one has been especially written to link the author's theology to the liturgical tradition, and two more to show its bearing on current devotional practice. The fact that the majority were written as independent essays and have only now been brought together into one whole explains some repetitions and overlappings which in the circumstances were inevitable; but it also demonstrates the remarkable unity of conception and consistency of thought in their author's mind.

An interesting feature in his approach is the use made, in Chapter III and in the Appendix to Chapter IV, of the appeal to the liturgical tradition. Other Eucharistic theologians, e.g. Dr. Darwell Stone and Pere de la Taille, have quoted phrases out of the liturgies of Christendom to establish certain dogmatic positions. Dr. Mascall is too modern a theologian to use "The Liturgies" any more than the Scriptures as a mine of proof texts. He treats the liturgical text which he quotes in a critical way. But a wider critical knowledge of the ancient liturgies would perhaps have modified his argument in some places and strengthened it and carried it further in others.

The recitation of the Institution Narrative in the course of the Eucharistic Prayer has, as Dr. Mascall claims (p. 68), anchored the Church's Eucharist to its foundation in history. What happens to the Eucharist, when it loses this anchor, may be seen in the Eucharistic Prayers in *Acts of John* and *Acts of Thomas*, or to a lesser degree in the Prayer described in *Catechesis xxiii* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem or in the oldest stratum of the Prayer in the *Euchologion* of St. Sarapion of Thmuis. That such an anchor was lacking for a period during the second and third centuries in Egyptian and Syrian liturgies seems a reasonable supposition. But it is an open question whether it was originally lacking in these traditions, and not merely temporarily lost.

Further, there is no evidence to show that it was ever lacking in the West. Even in East Syria, in the *Liturgy of the Holy Apostles Addai and Mari,* Dom Botte has made us hesitate to assert dogmatically that the Prayer never did contain the Narrative. In face of such opinion it is difficult to accept Dr. Mascall's presupposition, that the Narrative was originally everywhere absent and was only " incapsulated " in the Prayers of the various traditions at different times.

The author is surely right when he says of the Eucharistic action (p. 184): " There is not first an offering and then a consecration, for not until the consecration are the gifts fit for offering. But neither, on the other hand, is there first a consecration and then an offering, for the consecration is simply the transformation by God's acceptance of the gifts that are offered to him. There is one Prayer, the great Eucharistic Thanksgiving, which simultaneously consecrates and offers in one action ". But in his exposition of the *Canon Missae* he does not face the fact that in that Prayer a *double* offering is made. There is the presentation of the sacrifice of the Church, *haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata*—the *dona* offered by the *episcopoi* in I Clement 44, 4, the *dona sanctae ecclesiae tuae* of the Bishop's Ordination Prayer in *Apostolic Tradition,* the *sacrificium* of Cyprian, *De opere et eleemosynis* 14; and there is the presentation of the sacrifice of the Lord, *hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitae et calicem salutis perpetuae,*—the offering foretold in Malachi 1, 11, and declared to be the Lord himself by the reference to John 6, 35. Dr. Mascall is right when he says that the Church's sacrifice becomes the Lord's sacrifice, because it is accepted by God; and he rightly stresses the importance of the petition for acceptance contained in the prayer *Quam oblationem.* But he does not note the significance of the *Qui pridie* which follows at this point. The Church demands the acceptance of its gifts, and proceeds to quote the Divine Command, " *Do this* ", and the Divine Promise, " *This is my Body* ". Having fulfilled the Command, it assumes that the Lord has fulfilled his Promise, and proceeds to offer the Lord's Body and Blood in the prayer that follows. In that sense the Narrative is the climax of the Prayer and the Moment of Consecration. And as there is a *double* offering, so there is a *double* celebrant. In I Clement 44, 4 it is the *episcopoi* who offer the gifts; yet in I Clement 36, 1 it is Jesus Christ who is the *archiereus ton prosphoron hemon.* In the *Canon Missae* it is *nos servi tui sed et plebs tua sancta* who offer the *hostia pura,* the *panis vitae,* to God; yet it is carried up to the altar on high *per manus sancti angeli tui,* by the Lord himself, the *Megales boules aggelos* of LXX Isaiah 9, 6. There is a double offering, the bread and wine and the Body and Blood; there is a double celebrant, the Church and its Lord; and there is an interchange of offerings. St. Cyprian teaches the same doctrine in Epistle 63, (17), when he says *Passio est enim Domini sacrificium quod offerimus,* " The Passion is the Lord's sacrifice, which we offer."

A. H. COURATIN.

THE ORACLE OF CHRISTENDOM

THE LETTERS OF SAINT BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX. Newly translated and edited by BRUNO SCOTT JAMES. Burns Oates. 1953. 42s.

ST. Bernard and the Cistercian Order, which though not founded by him yet was so largely his creation, have an especial interest with regard to England, for the reform of Citeaux was not only most remarkable for its extent and diffusion in this country but from the beginning to the Dissolution it exerted a powerful influence on our religious history and social life far beyond that of any other religious body.

Bernard, born in 1091 in Burgundy, entered Citeaux in 1112 and the English Abbot Stephen Harding set him to found Clairvaux in 1115. In a few years the white monks were everywhere and when Bernard died in 1153 there were no less than 300 houses, an almost miraculous expansion.

It was not Clairvaux however which brought the Cistercian reform to England. That distinction belongs to L'Aumône and William Giffard of Winchester when Waverley was founded in 1128. But the foundation which definitely marked the invasion was that of Rievaulx in Yorkshire which Walter Espec founded in 1132 with the help of Thurstan, Archbishop of York. Led by a Yorkshireman, William, this foundation was made from Clairvaux and Bernard had prepared the way in his letter to Henry I (Ep. 391). The effect of the presence of these monks was to be seen not many weeks later in the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary of York and the famous foundation of Fountains.

The tremendous figure which fills the first half of the twelfth century is not that of a philosopher, theologian or legislator, but rather that of an individual, a personality of enormous spiritual energy, the " last of the Fathers ". It was Bernard who drew up the statutes of the Knights Templars, who secured the recognition of Pope Innocent II, it was the eloquence of the " Mellifluous Doctor " at the council of Vézelay that kindled the enthusiasm of Europe for the Second Crusade.

The Cistercian movement of which he was so great a part was a puritanical movement within the monastic order. It was a reaction from a manner of life that with the advance of civilization had seen a relaxation of the great Rule, had become softer, more comfortable and even for those days luxurious. In England perhaps this was not least so, and the English have a weakness for puritanism. The story of the exit from the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary at York and the foundation of Fountains is well known. Perhaps not so well known is St. Bernard's direct influence in all that affair. No less than ten of his letters are concerned with this, beginning with one addressed to Geoffrey, Abbot of St. Mary's who perhaps in old age had been temporizing with the reformers of his house, Richard the Prior and Gervase the Sub-prior, and had finally refused them permission to break away and live a life strictly according to the Rule. Richard appealed to Thurstan, Archbishop of York who summoned them all three to a conference with him. When the Abbot said he could do nothing without his Chapter, Thurstan decided to visit the Abbey and when he did so was refused admission with attempted violence. He laid the Abbey under an interdict and Richard and his companions took refuge with the Archbishop who on Christmas Day 1132 installed them on land of his own at Skedale, then little better than a wilderness, to become the magnificent foundation of Fountains Abbey.

Bernard's letters deal with all this. He declares he had nothing at all to do with the action of Richard and his party, but he writes to the Abbot that he believes it was an action inspired by God, " because in spite of all your efforts they remain firm in their purpose ". And he proposes to send a monk to " speak with greater authority " and in fact he sends one Geoffrey to Fountains to instruct the religious in Cistercian observance. Again the Abbot writes him and again Bernard answers in a very long letter in which he deals with the case of Gervase and Ralph who returned to St. Mary's. Then in a subsequent letter he writes to Richard, now Abbot of Fountains. In the course of this letter he says " It is much easier to find many men of the world who have been converted from evil to good, than it is to find one religious who has progressed from good to better. Anyone who has risen even a little above the state he has once attained in religion is a very rare bird indeed."

Bernard writes to King David of Scotland in favour of the new foundation and on the death of Richard, first Abbot of Fountains (Ap. 30, 1139) he writes to the Prior Alexander proposing to send them a new Abbot, Henry Murdac Abbot of Vauclair whom he begs them to elect and who not only became Abbot of Fountains but Archbishop of York. A beautiful letter to St. Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx—the " Bernard of the North " and one of the most attractive figures in English monasticism, a true disciple of St. Bernard, closes the series.

These however are by no means the only English letters nor this the only influence of Bernard in English affairs. To name no others, in 1140-53 he constantly interfered in the controversies rising out of the election to the Archbishopric of York. And then in 1144 he introduced the famous scholar, the central figure of English learning and later Bishop of Chartres, John of Salisbury to Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury. " I am sending your Highness, John the bearer of this letter," he writes. " He is a friend of mine and of my friends and I beg that he may benefit from the friendship for which I count on you. He has a good reputation among good men not less for his life than for his learning . . . Provide for his needs I beg you. If I have influence with you, and I know that I have much, provide for him that he may have the means to live decently and honourably and I beg you to do this without delay for he has nowhere to turn."

This new translation of St. Bernard's letters, together with some hitherto unknown to us, well marks the eighth centenary of his death. It is not only an admirable and scholarly work but it must have been a long labour of love on the part of Fr. Bruno James and it makes fascinating reading. Indeed these letters are necessary to an understanding of the twelfth century. St. Bernard was in correspondence with all the greater personages of his day, Popes, Kings and Archbishops, Abbots and Scholars. It would be true to say that nothing happened in his time upon which these letters do not throw some light, and not least upon the most famous scholar of the time Peter Abelard. That name is absent from *The Divine Comedy* perhaps because Dante, who had made up his mind about everybody else, had not made up his mind about Abelard. We know that St. Bernard had made up his mind about this man and had condemned him and with him, though he did not know it, the future. For though Abelard died on his way to Rome, in all he had said, in all he had done, lay implicit the Renaissance, Arnold of Brescia, the Revolution.

The book needs a better index.

EDWARD HUTTON.

REASON AND REVELATION

REASON AND REVELATION. A QUESTION FROM DUNS SCOTUS. By NATHANIEL MICKLEM. Nelson. 8s. 6d.

DR. MICKLEM prefaces his study of the first Question from the *Opus Oxoniense* of Duns Scotus by saying, (1) that he is a great but neglected theologian, (2) that his discussions still have relevance to our present needs, (3) that it is instructive to see our problems handled in a method and a terminology very different from our own.

The task undertaken is formidable. To appreciate it properly it is necessary first to form some idea of the arguments of Duns, and then to consider how they are treated in the book before us.

The question is: "Whether man in this life needs to receive by supernatural inspiration some special doctrine which he could not attain by the natural light of reason." The scholastic method is, (1) to set out reasons for and against the questioned proposition, (2) to offer a solution of the question, and (3) to refute the arguments rejected. What distinguishes the work of Scotus from the typical exemplication of the method, as seen in the *Summa Theologica* of Aquinas, is the immense development under (2). Aquinas, indeed, sometimes begins his solution with a discussion of contemporary opinion. But with Scotus the discussion of contemporary views has grown so as almost to obscure the original arguments. Only a careful and close study is sufficient to prevent one from being lost in a maze of syllogisms, where often Duns is not satisfied to state an argument without going back to prove both premisses, and where in the midst of a series of proofs he breaks off to present objections to the proofs, and then to object to the objections.

In our particular question Section I is simple enough. It is argued that Intellect and Being absolutely correspond, and therefore no supernatural revelation can be necessary. In fact anything supernatural would be disproportionate to Intellect—so supernatural revelation is impossible. Yet against this conclusion stands the authority of Scripture in II Tim. iii, 16 and Baruch iii, 31 ff.

We come to Section II, which is of great length. Here, in view of what has been said before, it is impossible to reproduce in small space the terrific tangle of arguments. The discussion broadens out into an immense debate between contemporary philosophy and theology. The philosophers bring up arguments from Aristotle against supernatural revelation. The theologians, like Aquinas, hold revelation to be necessary, both for a distinct knowledge of God as the end of man, and for a knowledge of the means by which the end is to be attained. In his long intricate discussion Duns naturally takes the side of the theologians. In so doing he is at pains to explain what supernatural revelation implies. Revelation can be supernatural as to either its object or its agent. Biblical revelation is supernatural in both ways.

In Section III the original arguments against supernatural revelation are refuted. Intellect only corresponds to Being, so far as it has an abstract concept of Being in general. The distinct knowledge of God requires revelation. Moreover Intellect, though certainly disproportionate to revelation because it is supernatural, is yet not so disproportionate as to be unable to assent to it. The position of Duns throughout of the whole question is that Intellect has a natural affinity for God.

Even the above perfunctory sketch of the contents of the " Question from Duns Scotus " is sufficient to show what a task Dr. Micklem has undertaken in making a study of it. He has fulfilled the task admirably, partly translating, partly paraphrasing the crabbed Latin of the original text, and continually showing the relevance of the Scotist arguments to modern controversies. The text itself is printed in full at the end of the exposition.

In naming his study *Reason and Revelation* Dr. Micklem has particularly in view the present-day dispute between theology and scientific humanism. It is sufficiently akin to the medieval problem of Aristotle and the Bible to make the discussion of Reason and Revelation in Duns illuminating on many points. Dr. Micklem has also in view the Barthian theology, with its doctrine of the Absolute Otherness of God, in opposition to which he finds much more satisfactory the view of Duns that we have a natural, if imperfect, knowledge of God.

On one point, however, Dr. Micklem considers that Duns needs correction. We can no longer think of revelation as given in the form of *doctrine.* Revelation takes place when we encounter the Person of Jesus Christ, and have an insight into his value for us. But such revelation is still supernatural; and so with this modification the arguments of Duns Scotus still have validity.

To sum up, Dr. Micklem has written a courageous and most interesting book, which it is to be hoped will serve to enhance the appreciation of medieval theology, which is already quite rightly on the up grade to-day.

ROBERT S. FRANKS.

FIVE MINOR PROPHETS

OBADIAH, MICAH, ZEPHANIAH, HAGGAI AND ZECHARIAH. By the REV. SEBASTIAN BULLOUGH, O.P. Saint Catherine Press, London. 18s.

THIS is one of the Westminster Versions of the Sacred Scriptures, edited by Fr. Lattey, of the Society of Jesus. Other volumes on the Old Testament are already published: Malachy and Daniel, by the Editor, and Nahum and Habakkuk, by the late Dom Hugh Bevenot, and others. These books contain new translations, introductions and notes. The introductions deal with the author, the contents, the date, style and metre, and emendations. The Book of Obadiah, whose 25 verses take up 3 pages, has 9 pages of notes, Micah has 20 pages of notes and 12½ of text, Zephaniah 8½ of notes and 7 of text, Haggai 6½ of notes and 12½ of text, and Zechariah 25 of notes and 20 of text. The Editor of this volume pays special tribute to A. van Hoonacker, S. R. Driver, W. Emery Barnes, T. K. Cheyne, Julius A. Brewer, and S. H. Hooke, and has made use of passages from periodicals such as the *Revue Biblique* and the *Journal of Theological Studies,* with contributions from G. R. Driver and others. The books, undertaken with the approval of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, are welcome and useful additions to the Commentaries on the Bible.

A. D. POWER.

CHALCEDON

THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON. By R. V. SELLERS. S.P.C.K. 37s. 6d.

THE Christology of the Early Church is a subject which Professor Sellers had made peculiarly his own, and this volume on the Council of Chalcedon is well worthy of his pen. It is safe to predict that it will be the standard work in English on the subject for many years to come.

The first part of the work is devoted to discussion of events from the Council of Ephesus (431) to that of Chalcedon (451). Here Dr. Sellers is detailed without being dull. The ebb and flow of events is brought out with considerable skill, and the reaction between religion and politics carefully noted. The dyophysite cause was certainly fortunate in the opportune death of Theodosius and the succession of Marcian and Pulcheria. The picture of the backstairs intrigues of prominent officials and Churchmen will be a valuable corrective against attempts to idealize unduly the history of the early Church.

The second main section is an admirable summary of the three main trends in Christology associated with Alexandria, Antioch and Rome. Readers of Dr. Sellers's earlier work on *Two Ancient Christologies* will be already familiar with the main contention that there was a closer approximation between their teaching than it has been fashionable in some quarters to admit. His earlier argument is here reinforced, and the existence of much common ground alike in emphasis and terminology must clearly be conceded, but it still remains probable that the author somewhat exaggerates the community of outlook between them. If, for example, St. Cyril really intends the whole time to admit the distinction between the two Natures, the formula " out of two natures " even as it is expounded by Dr. Sellers was hardly the best starting-point. Dr. Sellers is, of course, far too good a scholar to be blind to the differences between the three schools; it may be doubted whether he has succeeded in assigning to them their full weight. Granted the will to differ and the " chasm of mutually omitted contexts " over which they glared at one another, there must probably be added a difference of starting point, perhaps of devotional experience and even of fundamental theological axioms. Dr. Sellers is wholly right in finding one such axiom on the Antiochene side to be the gap between God and his creatures which he is inclined to derive even more directly from Biblical than from philosophical sources. Here surely the Alexandrines would admit the premiss but deny its relevance to the doctrine of the Incarnation. It is clear, too, as Dr. Sellers notes, that their respective phrasings of the doctrine of Redemption are widely different. The Antiochenes prefer to speak of Redemption in moral terms, whereas the Alexandrines were devoted to a more mystical orientation of the same doctrine. This clearly results in a different theological and devotional valuation of the Humanity of the One Christ. The distinction between Christological confession and Christological inquiry, of which the author makes so much, tends to blur the outlines here. The former is virtually regarded as the affirmation of the Unity of the Incarnate Lord, while the latter seems to apply uniformly to the analysis of the twofold elements within his Person. But *inquiry* was certainly directed to the problem of the Unity of the Person, and certainly the Antiochenes, and probably St. Leo, would have regarded his Duality as a matter of *confession*. Dr. Sellers certainly finds both principles at work in each of the three main schools, but the significance of their differences seems rather to emerge in the action which they took when the two came into conflict. Alexandria reaffirmed the Unity even at the risk of truncating or blurring the real humanity, whereas Antioch loosened the bond between them even at the risk of appearing to teach a doctrine of Two Sons. The construction of theological shibboleths is always a chancy business particularly for former ages, but it has sometimes occurred to me that the root question between the schools might be phrased as follows : " If the Logos were taken away from the Incarnate Lord, what would be left? "

Dr. Sellers then turns to the documents of Chalcedon itself. There is a valuable discussion of the probable sources of various parts of the Definition which breaks some fresh ground. Following Schwartz he rightly defends the reading "In two natures" against the aberrant reading "Out of two natures" of two manuscripts. This has always appeared most improbable and can now be safely excluded as a mere clerical error. Here his main thesis is that the Definition is primarily a positive document embodying the measure of agreement on the two principles of Christological confession and inquiry, and that its negative references are incidental to its positive purposes. But there is still room here for a different verdict. Even allowing full weight for the measure of common ground, the later history of the Definition shows that the real difficulty lay in the sphere of the interpretation of the formula. Was a strengthened Cyrillinism to prevail or a restated Antiochene doctrine purged of any suspicion of Nestorianism ? Or perhaps even a Leonine interpretation content to leave the Church with a restated problem but without a resultant theory ? The author himself shows that conflict raged among the supporters of the Council at a later date on precisely these points. It seems rather more probable that the Definition represents a regrouping of the forces of the Church upon a peculiarly intractable doctrine, not only by the elimination of certain false trails but also by the restatement of common ground. If many modern criticisms are much too sweeping, it is arguable that Dr. Sellers has carried the defence rather too far.

The last section is in many ways the most important in the book. The general custom in University teaching is to break off detailed consideration of the history of Christian Doctrine at Chalcedon with little more than a perfunctory reference to the later period. Dr. Sellers incorporates the researches of Lebon and others in the history and theology of the Monophysite movement. The exact objections raised against the Definition are clearly set out, and the divisions alike in the Monophysite and Chalcedonian camps fully described. The relation between the final enthronement of the work of the Council and the renewal of contact between East and West is well brought out. The author will have nothing to do with the once-prevalent view that theological issues were little more than a convenient smoke screen for "non-theological factors."

Dr. Sellers shows himself a master in the art of the learned footnote, and the specialist reader will find all that he needs for further study. But the general reader need not be daunted by the impressive documentation. The text of the book is well written and complete in itself. The S.P.C.K. is to be congratulated in its part in the production of the book. The Anglican Church may well be proud of its tribute to the Council of Chalcedon produced by one of her leading scholars in this particular branch of study.

H. E. W. TURNER.

THE APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION

THE APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION IN THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES OF THE CHURCH. By ARNOLD EHRHARDT. Lutterworth Press. 16s.

IT might appear virtually impossible after the learned researches of scholars like Lightfoot, Harnack, C. H. Turner, Caspar and Cabrol to say anything fresh about the early history of the conception of Apostolic Succession in the first two Christian centuries. The ground has been well-worn by the controversialist, and the succession lists themselves are uncommonly chary of delivering up their secrets even to the most critical scrutiny. But Dr. Ehrhardt has at least succeeded in saying something new, though it is probable that his conclusions may not carry complete conviction. His attitude is genuinely cross-bench. Evangelicals who might welcome his trenchant criticism of "The Apostolic Ministry" will not as easily relish his emphasis upon the early conception of priesthood, while Anglo-Catholics will feel that his definition of apostolicity as applied to the Ministry does not go nearly far enough and that he is prepared to admit a greater degree of fluidity in the early period than will prove reconcilable with their principles. Here Dr. Ehrhardt need have no fear. Truth is no respecter of party frontiers, and refuses to be pigeon-holed as conveniently as we might ourselves wish.

His thesis is that the Ministry can be called Apostolic not because it can be proved that the Twelve instituted a particular succession of bishops or because the ministerial succession instituted by St. Paul according to the Pastoral Epistles has continued unbroken down to the present day, but because the Apostolic Succession took its origin from the Church at Jerusalem which was approved by several Apostles, notably St. James, St. Peter and St. Paul, as being in conformity with the Will of God (p. 21). The court of St. James at Jerusalem reflects not only that of the Jewish High Priest; it also appears to foreshadow that of a bishop in the early Catholic Church.

The book opens with a devastating critique of the *shaliach* theory of "The Apostolic Ministry" and even more of the famous article of Rengstorf from which it derived so much. The New Testament evidence is fully treated, with special reference to the interest in constitutional theory of the Jerusalem Church, the apparently Jewish origin of the Christian presbyterate and the contrast with the Churches of the Gentiles.

On turning to the succession lists of the early Church his attitude appears to be more revolutionary. In place of the Roman succession list he directs our attention to the Cinderella of the lists, that of the Jerusalemite Church. He finds the origin of the whole conception not in the lists of the philosophical schools, still less in regnal lists, but in the catalogue of the Jewish High-Priests. The earliest writer to display an interest in such succession lists is the Jewish Christian Hegesippus, and the earliest form of the Eusebius-Jerome list in the

Chronicles opens with the name not of St. Peter but of St. James. The author studies the alternatives to an episcopal succession in the forms of a prophetic succession (Asia Minor) or of accredited teachers (Alexandria).

Within the compass of a short review it is impossible to do anything like justice even to the main heads of criticism which so important and learned a book deserves. To this I hope to have an opportunity to return elsewhere. Some at least of the points to which Dr. Ehrhardt calls attention, but which would need further consideration, are as follows. We need a fuller exposition of the primitive conception of priesthood and its implications. Certainly I Clement makes much of the parallel between the ministry of the Old Israel and the New, but is it more than an analogy and what credit must be assigned to it if it is ? The exact relation of Hegesippus to the succession lists is never discussed, although the interpretation of the key passage is admittedly difficult and has aroused much controversy. If, as seems probable, he did construct a succession-list at Rome, is this an innovation in his thinking due largely to the specially favourable circumstances of the Roman see, or is it an interest which he brought with him from Palestine ? The most serious difficulty here is the fact that, while Hegesippus certainly recorded the early stages of the Jerusalemite episcopate, he can hardly be credited with the fuller and more dubious form which Eusebius records. Dr. Ehrhardt is quite content to assign this to the episcopate of Narcissus. Little can be built upon the two groups of fifteen bishops even if there is a certain parallel to the number of Jewish High-Priests. The possibility that it merely represents an attempt to construct a pre-history to support the reviving claims of the Church of Jerusalem based upon the principle of " the more, the merrier " may well promise an equally good starting point. The prophetic succession was certainly appealed to in Asia Minor, but does not the evidence of Polycrates that he was the eighth of his family to become a bishop imply an appeal to episcopal succession as well ? On a more minor point, Dr. Ehrhardt does not tell what he makes of the puzzling reference, also, of Polycrates to the John who was a priest and wore the petalon. It is quoted in a footnote without significant discussion. On one interpretation it might even support his main thesis. Hesitation may also be expressed on the fundamentally Jewish-Christian character of I Clement, which might well be regarded as " neutral " especially in the light of the Stoic echoes unearthed by Bardy. The evidence of the Pseudo-Clementines, which certainly need interpretation, may well be overpressed. And what is the evidence that Philip the Evangelist was ever associated with Caesarea Philippi ? Here is probably a slip.

If, however, there is a whole string of questions on which I should like the opportunity of further consultation with Dr. Ehrhardt, I have no doubt that he would be able to justify his position further with regard to many of them, and the note of criticism should not be that on which this review should end. This is certainly an important book which will have to be reckoned with in subsequent discussions of the topic. It is in the best sense of the word a learned book. It is not at all an easy book, but the reader who perseveres with its tightly-packed pages will have learnt much and be less ready to accept the facile generalizations which often pass for the conclusions of scholarship in a singularly difficult field of study.

H. E. W. TURNER.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY

THE TRINITY IN CONTEMPORARY THEOLOGY. By CLAUDE WELCH. S.C.M. Press. 18s.

RECENT work in English on the doctrine of the Trinity, apart from Dr. Hodgson's Croall lectures, has normally been restricted either to the Patristic period (Dr. Prestige's *God in Patristic Thought*) or to overall treatments of the subject such as Dr. Frank's small though important volume reviewed in the last issue of this Quarterly. Now Professor Welch of Princeton and Yale has offered a comprehensive survey of the doctrine in modern times, followed by a brief interpretation of his own. Apart from a brief but penetrating review of the doctrine in the last century this survey restricts itself to the period from the beginning of the first World War to the present day.

Dr. Welch has great gifts as an expositor. He is always fair, invariably lucid, with a great aptitude for relevant quotation. His summaries not only serve as resting places along the way but also as springboards for the next stage of his argument. His review covers modern Roman Catholic expositions, as well as a brief summary of the more important Fundamentalist treatments. He is at his weakest in this treatment of C. C. J. Webb and of Brunner, at his strongest in his exposition of Karl Barth and his critique of Hodgson and Thornton. Both in philosophy and theology he shows a splendid adequacy of equipment.

The questions which interest him most deeply are four in number. 1. Is the doctrine of the Trinity a first or a second-rank doctrine, the necessary implicate of the New Testament realities, or a defensive doctrine buttressing the belief in the Divinity of Our Lord? Here, following Hodgson and particularly Barth, he rightly prefers the former alternative. 2. If this be so, is the doctrine of the Trinity an immediate datum of Christian experience, a necessary inference from New Testament religion, or a conscious synthesis of several fundamental elements within the faith of the Church? Here his choice falls on the first possibility with Barth rather than on the second following Hodgson. 3. What is the status of the so-called *vestigia trinitatis*? Here is the only point on which he differs sharply from Barth whose rooted distrust of natural theology led him to dismiss the *vestigia* as an illicit attempt to discover a second line of defence additional to the data of revelation. The author has a real appreciation, unusual in a Protestant theologian, of the value of analogical predication, and is prepared within careful limits to accept in principle the methods of what he calls Trinitarian philosophizing as distinct from philosophical Trinitarianism. 4. Is the social analogy more adequate in itself and more true to the New Testament facts than the psychological interpretation? In other words, is the analogy of three men more or less adequate than the threefold analysis of a single personality? Here again his preference is with Barth rather than with Thornton or Hodgson. The protagonists (must he call them proponents?) of the social view work with an inadequate theory of personality. They distort the New Testament data which preserve an essential monotheism. They transgress the Catholic maxim that *opera trinitatis ad extra indivisa sunt*. He would himself view the persons of the Godhead as more than phases but less than personalities, and upholds Barth's use of the terms " modes " in a non-Sabellian sense comparable to the *tropoi huparxeos* of the Cappadocian Fathers. He devotes a special Appendix to the criticism of Hodgson's attempt to prove that the classical expositions of St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas and Calvin are nearer to the social view than has been previously imagined.

It says much for his clear exposition that the broad lines of his own reconstruction were already apparent by the time that his historical review was completed. This includes a further able critique of the social theory but an unrepentant " socialite " cannot help feeling that an answer to many of his objections could readily be found. The social view is really no nearer to tritheism than his own view to modalism. It depends from which direction you start in your interpretation of the Trinity.

This is certainly a book to read and, if possible, to buy and to keep. The professional theologian will not be the only reader to profit much by intercourse with so clear, penetrating and above all Christian mind.

H. E. W. TURNER.

THE OLD TESTAMENT

THE OLD TESTAMENT: A CONSPECTUS. By THEODORE H. ROBINSON. (Colet Library). Duckworth. 8s. 6d.

THIS volume is described by the publisher as an attempt to present to the educated person the results of modern research concerning the dates, authors, circumstances of composition and textual history of the various books of the Old Testament. It must be said that these 165 pp. are a remarkable feat of compression and selection and reflect everywhere the instinct of a distinguished teacher for the needs and limitations of his pupils. For this reason, we are given more than may be called "introduction": "conspectus" is a fair title. The reader is taken through the Old Testament, book by book, in the order of the Hebrew Canon, as through a strange city. The guide describes what he sees almost chapter by chapter, giving sufficient explanations of a technical kind to make his descriptions intelligible and indicating the place of the parts in the whole.

It is instructive to compare the volume with Alexander Nairne's *The Faith of the Old Testament* which was an attempt to reach the same kind of reader exactly forty years ago. There the author gives much more impressionist sketches and much less detailed summary. The reader is encouraged to read whole books of the Old Testament and is offered delightfully readable comments which draw out leading characteristics and theological meaning. And if it might be objected that the book must now be out of date, most obviously, for example, in respect of the book of Ezekiel, it is striking that Dr. Robinson has returned to the view, unquestioned by Nairne, that this is the work substantially of a single prophet whose ministry was carried out entirely in Babylon.

By contrast, Dr. Robinson's book makes a far heavier demand on the reader in that it is more closely analytical. It is in a sense the summary of what might have been an immense analysis of the whole Old Testament. The reader who did not know his Bible or did not follow in his Bible would soon be adrift. Which kind of approach is more effective in opening the Old Testament to the educated non-specialist is a question for the non-specialist himself to answer.

Just because of its precision and close analysis, this book will be of use, as a small work of reference, to the specialist also, and particularly in respect of the prophetic and poetical books. Dr. Robinson's insistence that the investigation of structure is primary and must precede all attempts to determine date and authorship is well-known, as are also the principles upon which he has based his own researches into the structure of these books. Here, without any learned apparatus, are his results, stated with marvellous economy of space. It is at this point, where the results of Dr. Robinson's own researches are most evident, that one is most inclined to question the suitability of the diet for the hungry readers envisaged.

It would be wrong to complain that no attention is given to some recent work in tradition-criticism, though the student of Martin Noth cannot help lamenting that his work should have no discernible influence on at least the interpretation of Chronicles - Ezra - Nehemiah if not on that of the Deuteronomic history of the kingdoms. Moreover it seems fair to ask whether a far better and more positive explanation of the "minor" judges has been given than that on p. 49 and a more positive and convincing reason for the collection of oracles of different prophets in one roll than that given on pp. 90, 92. Dr. Robinson is content to state at most points what has come to be regarded as critical orthodoxy and in this is probably again the wise teacher declining to confuse his readers with recent academic decision and indecision. He is noticeably kind to the more literal-minded reader particularly in dealing with Isaiah and Jonah.

Misprints have been noticed on p. 24 " Leviticus," p. 152 " man " for " God " or " of " for " for " ? p. 154 " besieged ", p. 167 C. A. Alington, p. 168 " The Old Testament Text and Versions ".

DOUGLAS R. JONES.

RIDLEY HALL

THE HISTORY OF RIDLEY HALL, CAMBRIDGE. VOLUME II. By F. W. B. BULLOCK. Cambridge University Press. Obtainable from the Principal, Ridley Hall, Cambridge. 26s.

THE first volume of this History was published in 1941 and was reviewed in these columns in the July-September issue of that year. It recorded the foundation of the Hall and the establishment of a tradition of strong evangelical piety and sound scholarship. In this volume Dr. Bullock continues the story from 1908 to 1951 under three Principals, Arthur James Tait, Paul Gibson and Falkner Allison, now Bishop of Chelmsford. Each of these brought his own gifts to the consolidation, and development of the life and work of the Hall.

The book has both a domestic and a general interest. Old Ridleians will welcome the detailed chronicle of events which Dr. Bullock's assiduous research brings before them in a most readable manner. Extracts from the reports made by the Principals to the Council tell not only of material improvements to the amenities of the Hall, but of spiritual problems and progress. Accounts of the annual reunions will stir many happy memories. There is much valuable information about the work of old Ridley men. Due tribute is paid to Harry Chapman, who for forty-four years presided over the garden and porter's lodge and found his vocation in the unwearying service of the community Two world-wars had their effects on Ridley Hall, as on all other similar foundations, and we learn how the Hall survived each time with a handful of students, and how after the cessation of hostilities there was quick and vigorous revival and restoration of the old traditions adapted to the changed circumstances. Zeal for the overseas work of the Church was unabated: indeed it was strengthened by the close link which was formed with Buwalasi College in the diocese of the Upper Nile, to which a generous gift was made from the Ridley Hall Jubilee Fund.

But there is a wider aspect of the story, which is part of the history of the Church in these years. It was a period when much thought was being given to methods of improving the training for the Ministry. C.A.C.T.M. was established in 1912, and shortly afterwards its periodical inspection of theological colleges began. The General Ordination Examination was set up after the first war and the Cambridge Ordination Course followed in 1921. After the second war came the C.A.C.T.M. selection centres. Thus there gradually grew up greater central control of theological colleges, and of the scheme of training. At the same time the annual meetings of the Conference of Principals of Theological Colleges provided opportunities for interchange of experience and views, and there emerged a fuller understanding and co-operation between colleges of varying ecclesiastical outlook. Of all this Dr. Bullock has something to say in a useful introductory chapter. The particular effect on Ridley Hall appears in the general narrative.

Of general interest also are the indications of the various trends of evangelical thought in the University—the older "orthodox" evangelicalism and the more liberal outlook associated with the Student Christian Movement and the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement. From time to time there were tensions among undergraduates in the University who held these differing views, and the difficulties affected the men at Ridley. Under God it was the wisdom and personal influence of the Principals and members of the staff which held together men of diverse convictions and prevented any serious breach in the fellowship and true spirit of the Hall, an example which was not without its influence on evangelicalism in the University as a whole.

This book is a notable achievement, and Ridley Hall is fortunate in its historian.

H. F. K.

TYPES OF PIETY

COMMUNION WITH GOD IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. By A. RAYMOND GEORGE. The Fearnley-Hartley Lecture, 1953. Epworth Press. 25s.

IN the Fearnley-Hartley Lecture the Methodist Church, with its associated Epworth Press, has a most useful instrument for encouraging original theological work, and it has made excellent use of it during recent decades. A course of publications which includes Dr. Newton Flew's *Jesus and his Church,* Dr. Vincent Taylor's *The Atonement in New Testament Teaching* and Dr. Snaith's *The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament,* is an ornament to any Church, and the new volume, if not quite of this standard, is a worthy contribution to this series of publications.

Mr. Raymond George is Lamplough Tutor in Systematic and Pastoral Theology at Wesley College, Headingley, Leeds, but he is also a careful and well-informed New Testament scholar; his book reveals an interest in both disciplines, and in their mutual relationships. Among the books to which it bears close relations is Dr. Newton Flew's *Ideas of Perfection* and Dr. Kirk's *Vision of God.* In so far as the latter book deals with biblical material, it comes in for sharp criticism in Mr. George's work. In a sentence, the theme of the book is that what the Church has come to call mysticism has no place in the New Testament scheme of things. New Testament theology, however, has a place for a piety which is warm and intimate, and this is best described as " communion with God "—hence the title of this book.

The book begins with a valuable analysis of various classical types of Christian piety. At one end is what one might call " extreme mysticism " (not Mr. George's phrase), a mysticism in which the distinction between God and the soul is almost, if not quite, obscured. At the other end is what might be called " extreme Protestant piety ", a form of religion in which the separation between God and man is so consistently maintained that man's only role is to be saved and forgiven by God. In between comes an intermediate type which can be called " communion "—the separation between God and man is never forgotten, but a place is made for their intimate relationship. It can, of course, lean towards mysticism, or towards a purely " prophetic " piety.

With these definitions in mind, the author considers with care the " piety " of our Lord himself, as expressed in his prayers and in his teaching, and then goes on to consider the Johannine, Pauline, and other material.

The section of our Lord's recorded prayers is particularly helpful, and would form the basis of several sermons or addresses, while also being well abreast of critical problems. The prayers and the teaching, as given in the Synoptic Gospels, are felt by Mr. George to belong clearly to the " non-mystical," Hebraic type of piety. St. Paul, who had the whole Evangelical and Pentecostal experience of the Church behind him, uses a richer variety of language than is found in the Gospels. His most distinctive idea is that of being " in Christ ", and Mr. George goes into the implications of this phrase with great care. He hesitates to adopt Deissmann's picture of a complete interpenetration, and lays stress on the fact that while we are *in* Christ in this life, we are not yet *with* him ontologically, though we are united with him in his death and resurrection. For this, communion seems to Mr. George the best word, and we can agree that he puts up a cogent case. The Fourth Gospel goes further in the use of the preposition *in,* particularly in conjunction with the verb *abide,* and connects the indwelling with the Father as well as with Christ. The Hebraic, prophetic note, however, remains.

In his last chapter the author sums up, and investigates the theological implications of his thesis. That " communion " is the best word, if only one can be chosen, may be true enough. But is not the attempt to select one such word extremely artificial ? The author is particularly keen to avoid the phrase " vision of God " as a category of Christian piety, chiefly because he insists on expounding Matt. V, 8 in a strictly eschatological sense. This is the basis of his quarrel with Dr. Kirk. But even the most rigorist eschatologists would agree that in other matters there is an anticipation, or an " instalment-possession " of the final bliss even in this life, and, if so, why not a partial possession of the vision of God ? It must be admitted that this metaphor is little used in the New Testament, and a piety orientated round it would be to that extent out of focus with New Testament religion. But all such exclusiveness is bad, and it is to be hoped that Mr. George, who has much to contribute to biblical and theological thinking, will not fall into the temptation, so alluring to continental students, of seeing a real truth, and then spoiling his insight by forcing all the material, however intractable, into the one mould which he has selected as *par excellence* that of Bible religion.

RONALD LEICESTER.

CHRISTIAN AND SUB-CHRISTIAN

CHRIST AND CULTURE. By H. RICHARD NIEBUHR. Faber and Faber. 21s.

THIS book, a reprint and expansion of lectures delivered in 1949 at Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, is of outstanding importance and value. It studies the different answers, theoretical and practical, given by Christian societies and individuals of historical or representative importance to the problem of the relationship between Christ, as his teaching is recorded in the Gospels, and culture widely understood as " the artificial, secondary environment " (a quotation from Malinowski) " which man superimposes on the natural. It comprises language, habits, ideas, beliefs, customs, social organization, inherited artifacts, technical processes and values ".

Perhaps the most valuable section in the book is that in which Dr. Niebuhr refutes one-sided interpretations of the Gospel in terms of a particular aspect of Christ's teaching isolated from its context and falsified by this exclusiveness. Neither love as the liberal Christian understands it, nor hope, as the eschatologists see it, nor obedience nor faith nor humility, is by itself a sufficient understanding of Christ. "Each of his virtues is intelligible in its apparent radicalism only as a relation to God ". In particular we are to love and value our neighbour for his relation to God. Jesus " does not speak of worth apart from God ". Though Dr. Niebuhr's account of the moral teaching of Christ is so admirable, he uses language of his personal relationship to God which, to say the least, seems irreconcilable with orthodox Christology. Christ's " unique devotion to God and single hearted trust in him *can be symbolized by no other figure of speech* so well as by the one which calls him Son of God ". " He is the *moral* Son of God". This is not St. Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi—not the faith of Ephesus and Chalcedon. Dr. Niebuhr has in fact substituted an ethical or psychological for an ontological doctrine of Christ. However, since his book is concerned only with the moral teaching of Christ, not with Christology, its treatment and conclusions are entirely compatible with a more orthodox Christology than his own appears to be.

Dr. Niebuhr insists that in the concrete no movement, society, or individual is or can be a pure representative of any single type of answer to the problem of Christ and culture. As regards the more radical and one-sided answers, this is certainly true, as his study proves. But I do not think it is true of the more comprehensive or synthetic answers. The typical answers classified by Dr. Niebuhr are five. 1. Christ is opposed to culture and the Christian therefore must reject culture. Representatives of this solution are Tertullian and Tolstoy. 2. Christ and culture are in "fundamental agreement". Christ is the finest flower of human culture, the educator of humanity. Representatives: the Gnostics, Clement of Alexandria, Abelard, the liberal Protestants and in particular Ritschl. 3, 4 and 5. Synthetic solutions. 3. Christ above culture. Culture is good on its own lower level, is in fact a propaedentic to Christ. Christ therefore fulfils culture. But he also transcends it and raises man to a level above the merely cultural. Representative: Thomas Aquinas.

4. Christ is opposed to culture, but culture cannot therefore be rejected. The tension is inevitable. For each must be accepted in its own sphere. There is therefore a double morality for the Christian, a Christian morality of love for the individual and a sub-Christian or rather unChristian morality of social behaviour which must also be accepted. Representative: Luther. 5. Human culture is radically perverted by sin, and as such opposed to Christ. But it can and should be converted by Christ as he converts Christian souls. Representatives: St. Augustine, Calvin, F. D. Maurice.

Dr. Niebuhr concludes that all these five answers possess their distinctive merits and defeats, truth and error. Not one of them, therefore, can be accepted as the true and distinctive solution. All solutions are infected with relativity, are relative to a particular historical, even personal situation. "Christ", however, "as living Lord is answering the question in the totality of history and life in a fashion which transcends the wisdom of all his interpreters, yet employs their partial insights and their necessary conflicts".

We must agree with the conclusion just quoted, and recognize the relativity of all particular answers to the problem. But this is not, I believe, true of the types of answer distinguished by Dr. Niebuhr. Applying the dictum he quotes from Mill and Maurice, that men are usually right in what they affirm, wrong in what they deny, we must conclude that the two answers which oppose Christ to culture (1 and 4) and the answer which denies his essential distinctiveness from culture (2) are in principle one-sided and accordingly to be rejected. Only the two answers fully synthetic, Christ fulfils yet transcends culture and Christ converts culture, are sufficiently comprehensive, sufficiently positive to be acceptable. Or rather they can and should be combined and the combination is wholly acceptable: in short, true. The former is the justification of a Christian religion-culture in which cultural values are subordinated to Christian faith, though society in its actual behaviour is still far from Christian. The latter is the hope of a genuinely Christian society as the goal of history.

Dr. Niebuhr is unfair to Pope Leo XIII and neo-Thomism, which he depicts as an attempt to make Christ guarantor and reviver of a defunct medieval culture. For, as he himself points out, whatever its shortcomings, that culture was a Christian religion-culture, a culture which accepted without question the truth of Christianity. Modern culture, on the other hand, is essentially secularist. What the neo-Thomist says in effect is not that medieval culture as such is the sole culture compatible with Christian faith, but that no culture is compatible with Christian faith which does not agree with medieval culture in accepting that faith as true—a proposition surely to which no Christian could reasonably object. Whether that faith is Roman Catholic, Anglican or Protestant, is of course another matter. As Dr. Niebuhr remarks, there are Protestant Thomists.

E. I. WATKIN.

THE MILITARY SYSTEM

THE REASON WHY. By CECIL WOODHAM-SMITH. Constable. 15s.

IT has been said that Frederick the Great lost the battle of Jena: this book might be described as an illustration of how the Duke of Wellington nearly lost the Crimean War. It leads up to its climax, the charge of the Light Brigade, through lively accounts of the careers of Lord Cardigan, who led the charge, and Lord Lucan, his brother-in-law and enemy, who ordered it, both of them typical "Lytton Strachey" characters, though the authoress wisely refrains from expending Stracheyan irony upon them and leaves their history to tell its own fantastic and often richly comic tale; but it is not merely an evocation of some of the more bizarre aspects of Victorian England. It is a pendant to Mrs. Woodham-Smith's earlier Life of Florence Nightingale, showing how the old military system against which her heroine had fought, failed as much in the field as in the hospitals. Though in all senses a slighter book than its predecessor it is, in a way, better reading, for one is never in danger, as one was at times with the other, of feeling bogged down in the mass of material—on the contrary, one reads on eagerly and without effort and is constantly entertained, though sometimes horrified.

The disastrous results of aristocratic favouritism and, in particular, of the purchase of commissions, a practice peculiar to the British army which, with many other abuses, had been maintained under the Wellington régime against a growing volume of public criticism, is the real theme of the book. Under such a system alone could officers like Lucan and Cardigan have held high commands; and though it is amusing to read of their follies and quarrels, these in themselves were not " the reason why " the Light Brigade had to charge into the valley of death. Cardigan indeed, though he led the charge, had no direct connexion with the events which brought it about. He only comes into that picture because the favour persistently shown him at Lucan's expense by the commander-in-chief, Lord Raglan (who even allowed him to command his brigade from a yacht in Balaclava harbour, several miles off), increased Lucan's resentment against the latter and his sulky determination to " work to rule " like a disgruntled modern trade unionist and shame his commander by carrying out all his orders to the letter; and the chapters which describe in lively detail how this brave, stupid, conceited, callous, ill-tempered and vindictive creature, sublime in one brief moment of his life, ridiculous in all the rest of it, quarrelled and bullied his way into the unenviable position (just vacated by the Duke of Cumberland) of the most unpopular man in England, remaining all the while convinced that he was a much ill-used man and a model of rectitude, are only relevant as showing the extremes to which the system could lead.

Lucan's is the crucial case. He was not stupid and with different training, perhaps, he might have made a really competent officer; but he had, like his brother-in-law, a very high opinion of himself and an ungovernable temper, and it was the friction between him and Lord Raglan, rather than the enmity between him and Cardigan, which was the proximate cause of the catastrophe. Raglan, indeed, was the real " villain of the piece," if there was one and if the term can be used at all of that well-meaning though rather shifty old gentleman. His behaviour towards Lucan throughout was, to put it mildly, disingenuous and his famous " four orders " at Balaclava were almost models of what orders ought not to be. The régime which employed him, Lucan and Cardigan together had assuredly much to answer for.

Yet the Wellington system in itself was not the whole cause of the trouble; and the authoress might have emphasised, perhaps, that it was not enough to abolish purchase and aristocratic control. The French army in the Crimea suffered from neither the one nor the other; and at the beginning of the campaign Captain Portal of the Light Brigade wrote home that he wished he were serving under French rather than British generals: they at least had some military experience. In the event, however, though the French private soldier was the better looked after, French generalship proved even worse than British. All the major strategic errors of the campaign, the failures to pursue after the Alma, to attack the north side of Sebastopol, to assault the south side as soon as it was reached, to follow up the first bombardment, and to recapture the Woronzoff Road at Balaclava, were due to French insistence against the wishes of the British command; and fifteen years later the débâcle of 1870 showed how much was wrong with the French system. What was fundamentally wrong with all European armies except the Prussian was the pursuit of parade ground " spit and polish " and the refusal to treat war as a science; and that was not finally put right in Britain until after the Boer War. It is true that, as the authoress says, " after the Crimean War a change came in military affairs—even the incompetence of the Crimea bore fruit "; but the fruit only ripened after another fifty years and another dreadful example of " muddling through."

LAURENCE COLLIER.

RELIGION AND SCIENCE: A NEW ASPECT

SOME ASPECTS OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN SCIENCE AND RELIGION. By H. H. PRICE, Wykeham Professor of Logic in the University of Oxford. Cambridge University Press. 3s. 6d.

THE Wykeham Professor has delivered a lucid and authoritative exposition of the religious standpoint. He recognizes the gravity of a conflict which has caused much vexation in thoughtful minds. For although many people are in the habit of saying that there is no longer any occasion for disagreement between Science and that which is by too many taken to be just a " way of life ", more exact thinking shows that all religion does entail certain propositions which to a generation steeped in scientific, or more accurately, naturalistic assumptions, usually seem indefensible. For religion is not correctly described as a mere way of life, although a way of life is a consequence of religious beliefs. The Christian religion claims to be more than that. Christianity—and Buddhism likewise—depends upon a theory of reality.

In Christianity the basic truth is the existence of God, and theologians have long held that certain arguments are available to prove this. Professor Price appreciates those arguments as valuable analyses of " what theists antecedently believe", but rejects them as conclusive proofs.

Professor Price holds that anyone who goes about to defend the foundations of the religious attitude must appeal to that experience, or " sense of the Divine " which those who practise a religion always have in a great or lesser degree. And he must show that this sense is not only a capacity for having certain emotions, but that it is *cognitive*—it is an *awareness* of something. And it is this something about which the exponent of Christianity claims to be aware which the Naturalistic thinker denies.

To the Naturalistic thinker the religious emotions are purely subjective and cannot be taken as evidence of the propositions which religious people maintain. They ask for empirical evidence, ponderable fact—evidence of the senses which is unavailable. But the existence of other-worldly beliefs—of worlds which are not disclosed by sense-perception—is an essential part of the religious view. Such other worlds, usually assumed to be incapable of empirical demonstration by evidence of the senses, are in " head-on conflict with the scientific outlook ". And, as the lecturer observes, the ordinary educated man in

Western Europe regards such other-worldly beliefs as absurd. Materialistic explanations of human personality are now accepted almost as a matter of course by the average man.

It is at this point that Professor Price draws attention to the importance of the new and disconcerting evidence of super-normal cognition which is accepted as proved by psychologists working in the psychical field. Such phenomena as are irrefutably established by recent research into telepathy and clairvoyance do make nonsense of the materialistic conception of human personality. They may not prove the truth of religious experience, but they certainly dispose of the obstacle to religious beliefs usually set up by materialist dogmas so widely fostered by the scientifically prejudiced public. The survey of the present state of knowledge in the field of psychical research is a valuable part of this lecture.

DE SALES

Introduction to the Devout Life. By St. Francis de Sales. Translated and Edited by John K. Ryan. Longmans. 7s. 6d.

A New edition in English has long been needed, although there have been in circulation English versions—more or less accurate—since 1613. Indeed the book, published in 1608, was frequently reprinted in French and also translated into most European languages during its author's short life.

De Sales wrote the *Introduction* in a series of private letters to Mme. de Charmoisy, his kinswoman, who was apprehensive that her life at the French court would draw her away from her devotions. At the urgent request of a rector of the College of Chambery the work was revised and published.

As the present editor says, the *Introduction to the Devout Life* owes its greatness to the originality of its conception as a complete, balanced, sincere and well-written guide to the life of devotion. Others had written with genius on the same subject. But none had ever put together in the form of an introductory manual, couched in clear and arresting prose, the method and principles of a devotional life.

Let us read an extract from this wonderful work. The subject is devotion.

> . . . . Fire, flame, wheel and sword seemed flowers and perfumes to the martyrs because they were devout. If devotion can confer a sweetness on the most cruel torments, and even on death itself, what can it not do for virtuous actions ?
>
> Sugar sweetens green fruits and corrects whatever is crude or unwholesome in those that are ripe. Now, devotion is that true spiritual sugar which corrects the bitterness of mortification by the sweetness of its consolations. It removes discontent from the poor, and solicitude from the rich; sadness from the oppressed, and insolence from the exalted; melancholy from the solitary, and dissipation from him who is in society.

FAITH AND BEING

THE COURAGE TO BE. By PAUL TILLICH. Nisbet. 10s. 6d.

THIS world is the scene of a drama whose theme is conflict. How shall we describe the protagonists? In this book Tillich defines them as Being and Non-being, life and the forces which threaten life. Because life is threatened, we have anxiety, and anxiety has a throttling grip upon multitudes to-day, when we are living in one of those periods specially marked by anxiety. Such epochs come in the wake of great upheavals, when the old securities are broken. To-day very much that made life seem secure and intelligible in Victorian times has gone beyond recall; hence the general confusion, and a searching after truth and meaning that is often without much sense of direction.

Hence existentialism is a fashionable philosophy. It starts as a deliberate attempt to depict and face the situation in which man is actually placed; and in its progress much existentialist thinking has become the voice of despair. The boundary situation has been reached, for beyond despair man cannot go.

There are three main forms of anxiety, and in epochs of anxiety one or other form receives the most emphasis. First, anxiety is caused by the threat of extinction. The Greeks felt with special acuteness the pathos of the transitoriness of human life. That appears to oppress men much less to-day, when apparently many can view with indifference or equanimity their personal disappearance from life. Second, there is the sense of guilt, when man feels condemned. This was pre-eminent at the close of the Middle Ages, and preoccupied men like Luther and John Bunyan. Last, there is the threat of meaninglessness. This is the deminant note to-day. Men fear that perchance nothing has final and eternal meaning: existence has lost its sanctity. Here Tillich finds the heart of our present troubles.

Existential anxiety is inescapable, because it is bound up with the actual situation, and is to be distinguished from pathological anxiety, which concerns itself with fears that have no ground in the actual situation, if it is justly appraised. About pathological anxiety our author has many wise things to say; but his main theme is the facing of existential anxiety. Courage is the affirmation of Being in the face of, and in spite of, the existence of Non-being.

There are illuminating pages on the history of courage; but more important are his discussions of two forms of courage: the Courage of Individualization, also called "The courage to be as oneself"; and, The Courage of Participation, also described as "The courage to be a part."

In collectivist societies one discerns man seeking security and meaning by subordinating himself wholly to the collective. Individual extinction now does not matter, for the whole survives. Man has significance only as part of a whole. But this leaves the problem, How can a whole composed of individuals without significance be itself significant? Hence at the other extreme we find the supreme value attached to the individual as such: he affirms himself in the face of everything. He claims the liberty to question and to doubt: his religion becomes a matter of personal piety, a direct relationship between himself and his God. But by itself, neither the courage of participation nor of individualization is adequate. Is there a form of courage that includes them both, and harmonizes their polarities? To this Tillich addresses his concluding chapter.

The basis of his answer is his conception of God as pure Being. Our confidence is based on a twofold conviction—Being can absorb into itself everything, and exercise upon it transforming power, and therefore is indestructible and cannot in the final issue suffer taint; we are grounded in this Being and sustained thereby. Therefore we have no need either to shirk, or to quail before, the forces and threats of Non-being.

In this section Tillich leaves us with a question whether he has quite succeeded in retaining all that is true in the thought of God as a person while insisting that we must transcend this concept in order to avoid bringing the infinite God under the categories of finitude. Perhaps the harmonizing of these two ways of thinking of God, as Person and as Pure Being, is beyond the reach of finite mind; and we must be content to draw inspiration first from one and then from the other. But at all costs God must not be confused with a monistic absolute, in which human individuality may be submerged. If it outsoars logic, none the less the ideal that the human spirit will keep before itself is of a God in whose life we find ourselves, a God who with us is a member of a society in which one day we shall find ourselves members rejoicing at once in perfect individuality and perfect participation. Until that morning break we walk amid the shadows by the light of faith and courage.

C. J. BARKER.

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CHRISTIAN YEAR. By A. ALLAN MCARTHUR. S.C.M. Press. 15s.

THIS important work, though addressed in the first instance to the Church of Scotland, will be of interest to Church historians and liturgiologists everywhere. The author hopes it may be possible to reintroduce into his Church the observance of the Christian Year, though not precisely in the form in which other Churches have inherited it. He supports his plea with an exhaustive and well-documented inquiry into the origins of the Christian festivals as they existed, and as their observance was developed and modified, during the first four centuries. His contentions, set forth with abundant detail and close reasoning, are briefly as follows.

Sunday is not, and never was, the Sabbath, but is the weekly commemoration of man's redemption in Christ, and from the very earliest times was not a fast, but a festival dignified by the celebration of the Holy Communion. The other ancient festivals were Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, though none of them originally in the form in which we have received them. All of them were at first " unitive " festivals, each commemorating two associated acts or events. The Passover (Easter), demonstrably the earliest of them, commemorated the Passion and Resurrection, which the Church everywhere agreed in regarding as a single act of redemption. The celebration began with a fast and vigil over Saturday night (or, in Asia Minor in the second century, over the night at the beginning of 14th Nisan), which at dawn on Sunday became a festival dignified by the administration of baptism and the first communion of the newly baptized. Of Good Friday in its present form there is at first no indication. The fifty days of Pentecost continued the festival, and the fiftieth day in particular was a unitive commemoration of the Ascension and the descent of the Holy Spirit. Concerning Christmas and Epiphany the evidences of origins differ in different places, and the author's disentangling of them is subtle and (we think) convincing: in general his conclusion seems to be that Epiphany in the East was originally a unitive festival of the Nativity (with the Wise Men) and the Baptism, possibly to be traced back as early as the second century, while in the West Christmas was established (at the latest early in the fourth century) as a festival of the Nativity, including the Wise Men but not apparently the Baptism.

It is impossible in a short space to summarize the process by which (as Dr. McArthur thinks, and we for the most part agree) these unitive festivals were during the latter part of the fourth century differentiated into their several constituents, and received during the same period their preparatory seasons of Lent and Advent. Suffice it to say that in the differentiation of Good Friday and Easter Jerusalem played a great part; for there, after the discovery of the Holy Places, the custom arose of following the Gospel narrative of Holy Week in its historical setting. In the adoption of both the feasts of Christmas and Epiphany and the assigning of the Nativity to the one and the Baptism to the other, the lead was taken by Constantinople, Asia Minor and Antioch, which (as is well known) formed a mutually interdependent group. For the separate commemoration of Ascension Day we must apparently look to this same region, not to Jerusalem, as the point of origin.

Dr. McArthur's concluding plea is that the Church of Scotland should adopt the Christian Year substantially in the form in which we have received it, but with six Sundays in Advent and with Epiphany as a commemoration of the Baptism (the Magi to belong to Christmas), making the Epiphany season last until the first Sunday in Lent (no Ash Wednesday), disregarding Trinity Sunday as of tenth-century origin, and making no commemoration of any saints except St. Andrew. He also seems to deprecate the celebration of Holy Communion on weekdays. This is not such an impossible programme as might at first sight appear. Some forty-three years ago Professor James Cooper, of revered memory, said to me, " I have preached every day in Holy Week for thirty years." I wondered at the time where he found his congregations. Things have moved since then. But over one thing care will be needed, and warning may be taken from England. " Sunday is not the Sabbath." We agree. During these last twenty years the lads of the village have played football and cricket on Sundays, and the clergy are not in a position to protest—nor do many of us wish to do so. We do not think it wrong: but the boys who do it think it wrong, and continue to do it in spite of their own conscience. And that is dangerous. Sabbatarianism can be a nuisance: but the sudden eclipse of it, without concurrent acceptance of the duty of worship, can be a moral danger. The Church of Scotland would be well advised to go slow. Meanwhile, it might begin by correcting the notice about "Sabbath Worship" at the door of about half the churches in Scotland.

Dr. McArthur's citation of authorities is so exhaustive, and his reasoning from them so close, that it is difficult, and somewhat ungracious, to demur to his suggestions. We add, then, a few words, not of criticism, but of doubt about details.

As to the origin of Christmas and Epiphany: When we consider the abhorrence with which all pagan observances were regarded in Christian antiquity, we find it hard to believe that the western Christmas was instituted as a counterblast to Aurelian's Sun Festival on December 25, or that Epiphany took the place of a more ancient Winter Solstice festival: but Dr. McArthur's discussion of these subjects is closely reasoned, and must at least be considered. Again, the suggestion that the observance of Christmas as a feast of the Nativity received some impetus in view of the theological controversies of the fourth century perhaps needs some modification. Opposition to Arianism can hardly have centred in the Nativity, which was common to both parties: Trinity Sunday would have been more in point, if it had existed. It might perhaps be worth considering whether the separation of Christmas (the Nativity) and Epiphany (the Baptism) at Constantinople late in the century was pressed in opposition to the docetic form of Apollinarianism. Also, we might ask whether enough consideration (a footnote on pages 43, 44) is given to Duchesne's suggestion that Christmas is calculated from a combined memorial of the Annunciation and the Passion on March 25: the collect for Lady Day, admittedly ancient, seems to have both acts in mind.

Is it not possible that the practice of fasting on Saturdays other than Easter Eve (p. 27), traces of which survive in the Ember Days, was of Montanist origin? And are we right in thinking that Trinity Sunday, which "came into existence at Liège in the tenth century" (p. 159), really originated in England, being the anniversary of the consecration, on the octave of Pentecost, of the metropolitical church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity (commonly called Christ Church) in Canterbury? Is it a fact (p. 39) that at the Council of Nicaea the Roman Church played a notable part? Was it not merely represented by Hosius of Cordova, who though he took the chair seems to have taken little part in the discussions? But these are trivial criticisms, if they are criticisms, of an excellent work, whose value consists in large grasp of details and deduction drawn from them. There are misprints in Greek words on pp. 31 and 49 (twice).

As this book was a Ph.D. thesis the author is perhaps young enough for us without presumption to congratulate him on his work, and to hope that the Church of Scotland may find abundant use for his learning. Scotland has suffered not a little in the fairly recent past from the idea that theology is not so much to be learned from the Bible and the Fathers, as drawn from one's own inner consciousness and from German poets. Correction has for some years been on the way: Dr. McArthur, and other scholars like him, will continue the good work.

E. EVANS.

THE FOURTH GOSPEL AND ORAL TRADITION

THE DISCIPLE WHO WROTE THESE THINGS. By H. E. EDWARDS. James Clarke. 12s. 6d.

CONSIDERING the vast amount of literature which has gathered round the Fourth Gospel, the student may be tempted to think that nothing very fresh could be written on this subject. Let him take up Canon Edwards's scholarly book, *The Disciple Who Wrote These Things*, and he will find more than enough within its pages to tempt him to revise some of the conclusions concerning the Gospel which up till now have been taken for granted.

With great boldness our author claims that all previous writers on St. John's Gospel have mistaken what the Evangelist himself has told us about his purpose in writing; in short xx, 31, has not been taken at its face value. This passage clearly implies that his readers were unbelievers whom it was his object to convert to the Christian faith. The second grand mistake has lain in the assumption that in writing this Gospel use was made of one or more of the Synoptists.

Admittedly the Evangelist wrote for unbelievers, which may partly explain why no mention is made of the institution of the Eucharist, but he also had believers in mind: "That ye may believe" can be translated "that ye may grow in belief," and this is borne out by the contents of the Gospel. Nathanael believed and confessed that Jesus was the Son of God, King of Israel (i, 49), but he would find that experience would lead him to a much fuller belief (verse 50 cf. ii, 11, 22; xi, 21-27, 39-41; xiv, 29). To speak of believing as almost invariably " the deliberate acceptance as true of a statement or claim, and nothing more" (p. 148), does not do justice to the Evangelist's teaching as a whole. Such an attitude affects Canon Edwards's rendering of the epilogue (xx, 31).

The second mistake, if substantiated, means that " those portions of his gospel to which there are parallels in the Synoptists ", he has derived " from oral tradition, and such indications, as he has left us, are consistent with the view that this tradition is earlier, rather than later, than that which lies behind St. Mark's Gospel " p. 104). In reply the author's knowledge of the second Gospel does not mean that he was wholly dependent upon it. More than likely he would adopt a very free attitude towards it, but being, as we believe, an old man, he might check some of his own statements by what he found in the second Gospel, just, as, on the other hand, he might differ in certain places from the Marcan account. To take one example: the miracle of the loaves, which probably only happened once, appears twice in St. Mark's Gospel. Our Evangelist corrects this, but he might have understood viii, 17ff, the feeding of the multitude as conveying, like the parables, a hidden meaning and, as Dr. Vincent Taylor observes " the story of the second feeding is told because it anticipates the Christian Eucharist." Consequently the writer of the Fourth Gospel would feel more than ever justified in bringing out the spiritual teaching symbolized by the feeding of the Five Thousand.

Canon Edwards regards the Fourth Gospel as a first-hand record of spoken words by John the Apostle having been written down, perhaps in short hand, by one who was present. It consists of a number of documents which were written down in the sixties of the first century, and were slightly edited nearly forty years later. Canon Edwards considers the stenographer and editor to be the unnamed disciple known unto the high priest (St. Jo. xviii, 15), and further identifies him with St. Mark's young man (xiv, 51). John may also have been his name.

This somewhat bald account may sound fanciful, but each position taken up by Canon Edwards is argued at length with considerable skill. We may not agree with him, but it is a fascinating book he has written, and should not lightly be put on one side, especially by those who believe in the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel.

W. H. Rigg.

A MEMORABLE STUDY

PLANTS OF THE BIBLE. By HAROLD N. and ALMA L. MOLDENKE. Chronica Botanica Company, U.S.A. Vol. XXVIII of Plant Science Books. $7.50.

THIS is an exhaustive book, which took 12 years to produce, of 328 large pages, with full indices, many illustrations and 16 pages of Bibliography of over 600 books—admittedly incomplete! A most thorough book and a wonderful example of industry: as a work of reference it will be invaluable to students of the Sacred Scriptures. Though scientifically arranged, the index helps the reader to find the plant he wants and he will also find much helpful information, such as that the nettle of Job was an acanthus, that the only lily in the Bible was the one in Cant. v, 13 (lilium chalcedonicum), the others being anemones, hyacinths, irises or the lotus; while the Rose of Sharon was a narcissus, and the lilies of the field may have been a common white daisy-like plant. Coming to fruit, the apple may be a quince or citron, an orange, or even, but not likely, an apple. Tristram favours the apricot and our authors seem to agree with him. The mulberry and the willow of Ps. 137 are poplars. There are many plants—such as trees and fruits, bushes, herbs and flowers—which cannot, and never will be identified; these are discussed at the end of the book, but the authors think that they can be fairly certain that many of the plants they have dealt with are those to which reference is made in the Bible.

In our review of A Companion to St. John's Gospel by J. S. Hart which appeared in the October-December issue we omitted to mention that the Cambridge University Press acts as agent for the Melbourne University Press outside Australia, and that copies may be obtained in England for 12*s.* 6*d.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A notice in this selection of recent works does not exclude a subsequent review.

Christian Faith and Communist Faith. Edited by D. M. Mackinnon. Macmillan. 21s.

A comprehensive investigation by a group of Anglican thinkers of a problem which faces all the churches. " For," as the Editor says, " they are, by the nature of their mission, compelled at once to take most seriously the estrangement of modern man from their communion, and yet to refuse to accept that estrangement as in any sense final ". Both sociologists and theologians will find this book valuable. The outcome of a series of discussions initiated by the Bishop of Chichester, with able helpers, it may serve as a signpost amid the confused writing about Marxism which is common.

The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. By Roland H. Bainton. Hodder and Stoughton. 20s.

This up-to-date study of the Reformation will be found acceptable reading by the cultivated general reader. Prof. Bainton has already won approval by his life of Luther, entitled *Here I Stand.*

Local Records: their nature and care. Edited by Lilian J. Redstone and Francis W. Steer for the Society of Local Archivists. G. Bell & Sons. 25s.

This book, put out with the authority of experts, should be available to everyone who is entrusted with the care of local records. It covers many sides of the subject and every chapter is from the pen of an experienced worker. The Bibliography by Miss I. Darlington, Archivist to the London County Council, will be invaluable. It is not only professional archivists who will use this work. Many private estates have family archives. In present circumstances the need of instructed care is a very pressing one. Owners are giving up their houses and documents are often neglected or destroyed. The same situation often faces old-established businesses and societies. Their records are most interesting. But who is to preserve them?

Fortunately there is a general appreciation of local records in this country. The same cannot be said of the Colonies, where the ravages of insects and the destructive effects of heat and damp have done irreparable harm to some of the older official archives.

The Early Evangelicals. A Religious and Social Study. By L. E. Elliott-Binns, D.D. Lutterworth Press. 31s. 6d.

A learned and illuminating work. It throws light on an aspect of religion in the 18th century which has been overlooked. The brilliance of the Methodist revival has diverted attention from other aspects of Christian piety in an epoch of rapid change. There was much sincere devotion in the life of the ordinary man.

The Coming of the Lord. A Study in the Creed. By a Religious of C.S.M.V. Mowbrays. 6s.

"In this book the First Things of our Redemption and the Last Things are related, and the Creed is considered as the entity it is. The Second Coming is seen in relation to the whole".

A beautiful piece of theological exposition.

An Idiom-book of New Testament Greek. By C. F. D. Moule. Cambridge University Press. 25s.

"It is surprising, when one attempts to produce an exact and idiomatic translation or paraphrase of the New Testament, how many problems present themselves which cry out for more than what is provided in many of the commentaries in the way of discussion of the subtle nuances and idioms of the elusive and sometimes highly individual style of St. Paul, St. Luke, or one of the others. . .". This attractive study will meet the need described. It will also, we think, lead to the wider study and appreciation of N.T. Greek. Too many of us have been accustomed to treat the Koine as a debased form of the Greek language. The recognition of Hellenistic Greek—and, also, of the culture which brought it into currency—is a fact the importance of which needs no emphasis here. And the discovery of masses of papyrus documents in Egypt has placed the whole subject in a new light.

Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III. Edited by C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple. Thomas Nelson & Sons. 30s.

The letters in this collection are concerned with England between the years 1198 and 1216. With an admirable introduction by its learned editors it forms a notable addition to literature. Innocent III conceived and endeavoured to put into effect the ideal of a united Christendom directed in its spiritual life and in the policies of its lay rulers by the Vicar of Christ. His letters make impressive reading. They will be found of great interest not only by scholars.

The Bull of Minos. By Leonard Cottrell. Introduction by Professor Alan Wace. Evans Brothers. 16s.

Gradually the public is learning the significance of the Aegean Civilization. Greek history has been traced backwards, far beyond the

First Olympiad in 776 B.C., through the Iron Age to the Bronze Age, and beyond to the dawn of civilization in the third millennium. These discoveries are due to Schliemann, the penniless boy who became rich and conceived what seemed to others the fanciful idea of discovering the ancient city of Troy. No writer of extravagant fiction could ever invent such a romance as appears in this admirable account of Schliemann and his successor Arthur Evans. From Schliemann's first attempt at digging in 1871 until the present day there has been a series of astonishing discoveries in Asia Minor, in Crete and on the mainland of Greece. Everyone who seeks to know and understand our Western civilization should include this well-written book among his reading.

New Testament Pattern. By Jean-Louis Leuba. Translated by Harold Knight. Lutterworth Press. 17s. 6d.

In the New Testament the author traces two complementary strands, both of which are necessary. On the one hand is the Messiahship of Jesus, King of Israel: on the other hand is the universal Lordship of the Son of Man. The New Testament witness does not allow us to suppress either fact. And during the apostolic ministry there is the same contrast between the institutional ministry of the Twelve and the Charismatic ministry of St. Paul. The author follows the consequences of this thesis.

The History of University College, Nottingham. By A. C. Wood. Blackwell. 15s.

The story of how a narrow provincialism in college administration gave way to enlightenment and university status under the tutelege of the University Grants Committee and the generous financial encouragement of Jesse Boot, the first Lord Trent.

Hellenism and the Modern World. By Gilbert Murray. Allen and Unwin. 5s.

These lectures, given first on the Radio-Diffusion Francaise, contain what constitutes an apology for our culture by one who knows it. The Christian Tradition: Rome, Jerusalem, Athens. Such is the theme. What other living scholar has the knowledge which could give us this little book? The Greeks live again. And the scholar is prophetic in the analogy which he draws between ancient and modern circumstances.

Verses from St. Augustine or *Specimens from a Rich Mine.* By John Searle. O.U.P. 6s.

Former readers of *The Guardian* will recall the charming translations of passages from Augustine which Mr. John Searle gave us from time to time. They were rendered into verse. This was proper, for there is much poetry in Augustine, a writer so rich in inspiration and piety.

Many of these epigrammatic poems are translations and paraphrases.

Others are original, but derived in thought from the Saint's words. We quote one translation.

Two cities and two loves.
In Babylon,

Self-love is Lord, and rules with iron rod.
No other power dare speak:
Not even God.

But in Jerusalem,
God's love is all: no other love is found,
That flood so deeply flows,
Self-love is drowned.

The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza. Translated with an Introduction by R. H. M. Elwes. Dover Publications, Inc., New York. $3.95.

This facsimile of a famous edition, the two volume Bohn of 1883, will be useful to many readers. It includes a Bibliographical Note by Francesco Cordasco, Ph.D. It should be studied in conjunction with Mr. Stuart Hampshire's Spinoza (Penguin, 2s. 6d.). The great pantheist thinker cannot be neglected.

The Servant Messiah: A Study of the Public Ministry of Jesus. By T. W. Manson. P. viii + 104. Cambridge U.P. 10s. 6d.

A very interesting study by a scholar already well known for his contributions to learned periodicals.

The Thoughts of the Prophets. By Israel I. Mattuck. Allen and Unwin. 9s. 6d.

This able work is designed to show what the consistent message of the prophets was—their conception of God, their ethical teaching, their interpretation of history and the meaning of human life.

A Guide to Spiritual Healing. By H. C. Robins, Dean Emeritus of Salisbury. Mowbrays. 7s. 6d.

A very good introduction to the subject summarizing the general position and dealing briefly, but correctly, with a number of issues which must occupy the mind of any thoughtful priest, or layman. The book will be useful, also, to medical men.

Essays in Orthodox Dissent. By Bernard Lord Manning. Independent Press. 7s. 6d.

The title of this book is a reminder of the significant influence of the author and many other Nonconformists in resisting Arian and Socinian tendencies. Manning was a learned and wise follower of our Lord, a far-seeing Congregationalist and a very friendly critic of the Church of England. We strongly commend this book to students of church history, and think that they will read it with interest and satisfaction.

A Doctor Heals by Faith. By Christopher Woodard. Max Parrish. 12s. 6d.

It is widely agreed that disease cannot be understood without a recognition of mental conditions. As Bishop Wilson says in a Foreword, the peace of God in the soul has remedial power. Dr. Woodard has in this account of his experience revealed aspects of healing which merit a detailed examination.

La Papanté et Les Missions au Cours des Six Premiers Siècles: Méthodologie antique et orientations modernes. By André V. Seumois. O.M.I. P224. Paris: Eglise Vivante, 1953. 500 frs.

By study of the principles of missiology operative in the Church in earlier times the learned author finds a method of approach to the problems of to-day. Such important questions as flexibility in the canon law, and the baptism of native standards are considered. A valuable book.

The Hymns of Charles Wesley. A Study of Their Structure. By Newton Flew. Epworth Press.

Dr. Flew, himself an authority, quotes the words of the late Bernard Manning on the " Large Book " of 1780. " This little book ranks in Christian literature with the Psalms, the Book of Common Prayer, the Canon of the Mass. In its own way it is perfect, unapproachable, elemental in its perfection. . . .".

It is only in a full review that justice can be done to Dr. Fleur's able and illuminating study of the Hymns which he calls a " liturgical miracle ". We deem this a very notable book.

Assisi and Umbria Revisited. By Edward Hutton. Hollis and Carter. 21s.

Englishmen have always been drawn to the shrines of Italy by motives of piety and good taste. But we are not certain whether anyone has made himself so much a master of Italian art and culture as Cavaliere Edward Hutton. This book is entitled to a full review and must be appraised by one who is, like the author, a Franciscan scholar. No student of Italian art can neglect it, and every visitor to Italy should have it. Edward Hutton knows Italy, and he sees the Umbrian landscape and architecture with the eye of a scholar and man of letters. The illustrations are beautiful. May we expectantly look forward to a further work from the same experienced pen?

Jews and Greek. By Gregory Dix. Dacre Press: A. and C. Black. 12s. 6d.

An arresting study of the extension of the gospel to the gentile world in the early Church.

Kerygma and Myth. Edited by H. M. Bartsch. Translated by Reginald H. Fuller. S.P.C.K. 22s. 6d.

This work is a collection which includes Rudolf Bultmann's essay on "New Testament and Mythology" together with a number of articles from other theologians commenting on Bultmann's thesis. Readers are already acquainted with this subject. (*Vide* C.Q.R., 1952).

Aspects of Buddhism. By Henri de Lubac. Sheed and Ward. 12s. 6d.

A study with especial reference to those aspects which invite comparison with Christian thought by the eminent Catholic scholar.

Fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te.

EDITOR'S ANNOUNCEMENT

The Church Quarterly Review is a cooperative undertaking designed to promote sound learning and a deeper understanding of the Christian Revelation. Essays and reviews are invited for reading and consideration. Philosophy, Theology, and disquisitions relevant to the present intellectual and pastoral problems of the Church will be given priority. Literary and Historical studies, if of high quality and of current interest, will also be acceptable.

Articles exceeding 5,000 words in length cannot generally be published. But exceptions to this rule may be permitted if an article is of great interest.

As in the past, contributions will usually be accepted as given voluntarily unless a contract has been arranged. Every care will be taken with authors' manuscripts, but no responsibility can be accepted. Writers are strongly advised to retain a copy of every article submitted.

Copyright in papers, reviews and correspondence is reserved. But applications for power to reproduce may be addressed to the Editor.

As the amount of material submitted exceeds the capacity of the journal, writers will understand that a decision will often be delayed. In the circumstances of a journal which is published quarterly considerable delay may be unavoidable.

EDITORIAL

A Word Fitly Spoken

It can be observed that preaching is becoming a subject of discussion. It is well that much attention has been given to it. From a Free Church quarter comes the Joseph Smith Memorial Lecture of 1953 on Doctrinal Preaching: Its Neglect and Recovery. The Lecturer was Dr. W. E. Sangster. Dr. Sangster notes that much current preaching is trivial and deals with marginal topics. The central truths of Christianity are neglected. " Christianity is not vague sentiment," he says. It has a dogmatic core. It centres in a living Person, and it involves a number of affirmations regarding God, Man, and the Universe.

There are grounds for thinking that the intelligent public would welcome better doctrinal preaching. After all, Christianity is not the only faith which wins adherents today. There are other faiths and they lay stress upon doctrine. The grounds for Christian belief need exposition by preachers who have the power to convince.

Doctrinal preaching is not easy. It can only come from conviction and a burning desire to communicate that conviction. Dr. Sangster has written well on this issue of sincerity. Let a man be laid hold of by certain truths: let him see them as facts and not only as feelings: let him see them lying at the heart of reality and with immense significance . . . they will give an urge and warmth and conviction to his proclamation which is quite transforming. It can make the stammerer fluent—and sometimes make the over-fluent stammer. Indeed it makes much talk of diction seem pedantic. It puts deep notes into preaching which otherwise are never there.

Doctrinal preaching, then, is not a mechanical repetition of text-book theology. Anything cold or trite will have an antagonising effect. It must come from the heart, and the necessary insights will only be generated by a disciplined life of prayer and study. There is the rub. Good preaching is not the result of a special skill or talent, even when cultivated by practice and long attention to the principles of good oratory. It is derived from a deeper source which springs from the roots of human personality. The mind of the preacher must be alive to the tremendous importance of his theme, and capable, in consequence, of delivering a vital and dynamic message.

The classical schools of rhetoric knew what was required —not, indeed, for religious oratory, but for every known form of trained utterance intended to convince and persuade. *Sincerity was the crucial quality.* Great pains were taken by the Greeks to acquire this quality. The early rhetoricians whom men employed to prepare speeches for them laid the utmost stress on truth, sincerity, and upon what could not fail to seem a heart-felt utterance. It may be said, of course, that good style does not create sincerity. No: but style exacts sincerity. Sincerity is one of the many qualities in argument which attention to rhetorical rules will exact. The preacher will do well, therefore, to study rhetoric.

The ancients did it, and the influence of such training lingered at Oxford until the eighteenth century—or even longer.

Another quality upon which Aristotle, Cicero, Quinctilian, and their successors laid stress was clarity, or perspicuity. Good style cannot create perspicuity. It does much more. It exacts clear thinking, and this is another way of attaining truth and depth. The clear writer or preacher must have profundity.

These two qualifications, therefore, are necessary in the preacher or writer: sincerity and perspicuity. They will crowd the pews of our churches. *Experto crede.* But no mechanical repetition of doctrine, or trite sentiment of a derivative sort, will serve. That will never satisfy the rules laid down by Aristotle, Cicero, Quinctilian, or—to come to our own day—Archbishop Whately. Nor will it crowd the pews.

It all comes down to the inexpressible value of a word. " A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver." Like this writer in the book of Proverbs, the ancient Greeks were endowed with the gift of literary judgement. They could forgive an enemy who could quote Euripides. History records a number of such cases. But this nation, we fear, has lost any respect for verbal expression.

NOTES

A MATHEMATICAL-PHYSICIST SPEAKS

Christianity in an Age of Science by Professor C. A. Coulson is, we hope, to be the subject of a book review in a later issue, but we may allude here to one topic which the writer handles as important.

We often hear in conversation, and from the pulpit even, that the conceptions of matter propounded in modern Quantum Physics have introduced a fundamental change in the logic of Science from which religion, in its task of apologetic, can obtain immense advantage. This change has reference to the " uncertainty principle " of Heisenberg, an important principle in physics. It is argued by some people that the fact of this principle—the details of which we must leave until another occasion—lays the way open for God, if he wills, to vary the behaviour of the electron " without breaking the laws of motion that we have established in the quantum theory ". It is argued that we shall not know of any interference with the natural order, and yet God, through the uncertainty principle, can modify the behaviour of nature in ways that seem best to him. Such a view of the relation between God and matter is wholly wrong. " So long ", says Professor Coulson " as Christians are willing to accept a ' region of science ' and a ' region of religion ', parcelling out the country of the mind into departments under independent authority, there is no hope for religion ". What solution—and it is a very interesting solution—Professor Coulson has discovered, we must leave to our readers to examine for themselves. They may obtain the lecture (The Riddell Memorial Lecture for 1953) from the Oxford University Press for 5 shillings.

THE HEDGEHOG AND THE FOX

It is a sign of the times that religious writers are investigating the philosophy of history. On this subject Tolstoy had made a substantial pronouncement long before other and more recent thinkers began to write. But his philosophy has not been taken seriously by the majority. Turgenev, for instance, called it " charlatanism ", and many literary critics, ill qualified to expound, or to criticise any serious philosophical view, have been content to expatiate upon Tolstoy's great literary gifts while misleading their readers by ignoring the essential philosophical view-point.

The important truth is that Tolstoy was imbued—even tormented by a profound conviction of the inadequacy of all historical writing. History pretending to reveal causes was, in reality, nothing more than a " blank succession of unexplained events ". The efforts of Comte, or Karl Marx to explain history, to reduce it to a science, a branch of sociology which when completely mastered would enable man to predict historical happenings as governed by universal laws appeared to Tolstoy absurd. Indeed, such a scientific consummation, if attained, would be tantamount to the end of human life as we know it. Consciousness of freedom would be destroyed.

Tolstoy criticised the selection of facts by historical writers as wholly misleading—based on a misconception of what was the true pattern of events — a pattern far more subtle and hidden than anything which historians usually inferred. Events are endowed with innumerable aspects, unknown and unsurmised, affecting the " spiritual " life of humanity, which entirely elude the historian, who is occupied with a commonplace view of historical change and its causes. Yet it is these hidden elements which really control the history of the peoples. "Not .001 per cent.", argued Tolstoy, can possibly be known. *War and Peace* was written while Tolstoy held such a view of history in the forefront of his work, contrasting the real texture of life with the unreal picture generally accepted by historical studies.

Such is the subject which forms the main theme of *The Hedgehog and the Fox* by Mr. Isaiah Berlin, and it is handled with marked ability. It is a topic which cannot be ignored in a rapidly changing world—an epoch of world revolution when illusory and perverse ideas about the causes of social change are bound to become very general and mischievous. Tolstoy was a critic of popular optimism and rationalism. Mr. Berlin sees the influence here of Joseph de Maistre whose views were similar. Both were very critical of contemporary political theory.

AN AFRICAN UNIVERSITY

A WELL-INFORMED article, appearing in the Oxford Magazine for February 18, gives a useful account of the University College of the Gold Coast. This college, as many will know, was founded in 1948 as part of a scheme which includes the Universities of Ibadan and Makerere.

Students work for London degrees, and the college has in a measure a status similar to that of one of the internal colleges of that university. Legon Hall, one of the halls of the still unfinished university, is now finished, and students are in residence. It appears to be planned and modelled on one of the colleges at Oxford or Cambridge. In the Junior Common Room students meet and discuss politics and other topics as at the older universities.

The writer has found the students amiable and intelligent. For the most part they come from agricultural families accustomed in infancy to the up-bringing of an African village home. In this respect their lot is not substantially different from the lot of many students in the British Isles who in the past have obtained scholarships at Oxford or Cambridge, although brought-up in remote villages especially in Scotland, or Wales.

STUDY OF THE FAITH

IN his book *The Church of England Today* the Archbishop of York says that "responsibility of teaching the faith of the Church must in the first place rest upon the clergy". He reminds them of the exhortation addressed to them at their ordination. He mentions that he resolved to do at least two hours' reading a day, and that he kept it up systematically until he became a bishop. Dr. Garbett began his ministry at Portsea, a busy parish where he was curate and, soon after, vicar for many years.

The Archbishop lays emphasis on the work of reinterpretation and on the duty of the clergy to study contemporary thought. "Those of us who are not students must sit at the feet of men more learned than ourselves and gratefully use their work". He alludes also to avoidance of technical language and the use of "categories of thought with which they (the laity) are familiar". His Grace continues with some pertinent sentences about the education of the clergy and the risk that low ordination standards involve. The entrants into Orders could be the "rejects" of business and the professions.

For our own part we would have Christianity more exacting than secular institutions — not solely in the training of personnel. One of the chief problems of evangelism is the belief, current, but not always well founded, that mediocrity dogs the preaching and writing of the Church. In fact there is much scholarship available in every communion, but those scholars who have trained themselves in the very necessary art of writing with perspicuity are not common, and through the shortcomings of the only media by which their work can be communicated to the general reader, or listener, their considerable gifts are not receiving the wide attention, or wielding the influence which they ought to wield. There is no comprehensive survey of current research for the non-specialist reader. If any priest or layman today wishes to keep himself really well-informed about Christian literature he is obliged to keep an eye upon the journals of the Presbyterian and Roman Catholic communions. The Anglican journals have not the space or resources to cover the whole field. And the reason is that many Anglican clergy do not read and that Anglican scholars give the press little support. The broad picture is one of a nation hungering for religious instruction. Anglicanism can offer—in books buried in reference libraries, or often out-of-print—nearly all that they need. But they have no means of study. Propagation of knowledge is neglected. There is no effective support for those journals, such as this Quarterly, whose business is propaganda.

On the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the British and Foreign Bible Society the Archbishop spoke of the critical situation of Christianity, calling for greater study and understanding of the faith. It is not the first time. And, as readers of this journal know, we have kept the interest of study and apologetic in the forefront of our policy. It has always been the main purpose of this Review to help the cultivated reader who is no specialist in divinity to know more about Christian thought and its relation to contemporary discovery in other fields. It is for such readers that we are constantly planning new features.

We know from experience that the priest or layman who wishes to increase his knowledge of the great corpus of literature dealing with theology and devotional studies will be in frequent perplexity. Some of our correspondents have complained that there is for them no source of instruction in theology. " How can a priest of several years standing keep up with contemporary scholarship?" writes one. We would add another question equally grave. How can an intelligent layman obtain advice if he wishes to know the Christian faith and its theoretical foundations?

The Church of England has done much to propagate the Gospel in foreign parts. It does insufficient to propagate the Gospel in England. Public libraries are sometimes helpful, but they cannot be depended on. They do not always keep a stock of standard reference books such as one finds in the Reading Room of the British Museum Library.

Surely the position is urgent. It is crucial that the Church should offer the public more instruction. Evangelism today means skilled teaching addressed to a critical public. Scholars who fail to put such aims in the forefront of their work are not giving their best service to the Church. It is useless to occupy time and space with the minutiae of scholarship when Rome burns. Only last week a bishop declared that the Church was quite out of touch with the Nation. Letters to the press followed underlining and confirming his announcement. It may be very difficult to find a remedy. But no thoughtful man can be in doubt about one thing: the public must look to the Church for instruction. If it is true, as we have been told, that there are clerical study circles which include no theologian, then the case is indeed grave.

A CLERGY CENTRE

VERY germane to what the Archbishop of York said is a recent development in London. At St. Margaret Pattens, a Clergy Centre has been established for the dioceses of London, Southwark, and Chelmsford. The Chaplain is the Reverend George Bosworth. From this centre may be obtained in two compact volumes a series of study schemes, with sermons in outline, and much useful and up-to-date advice about books. We are sure that this work will be of value. None who use these little books can complain that they do not know what to read. Expert guidance is here. But, if this admirable project is to succeed, one condition must be fulfilled. The clergy must co-operate. There are, we fear, some who have long forgotten the undertaking which they gave, when priested, to be diligent in study. If the fine project now launched at St. Margaret Pattens is to succeed, we must in many cases look for a change of heart. Men must follow the example of Archbishops and read for two hours a day.

AESTHETICS AND THE GESTALT: A NOTABLE BOOK

In an age of social change, when leisure for inquiry and reflection is scanty, few of us are able to handle the deeper issues of life and thought with any originality of approach. The majority are satisfied with what is conventional and trite. For those who relish a new and constructive idea, and are prepared to wrestle with the concepts which are current in what may happen to be unfamiliar fields we would recommend a very original book. Mr. Ian Rawlins is interested in a number of studies which are not very often found within the grasp of an individual mind. Beginning with the relation between mathematics and art, he passes on to rather kindred thinking in the spheres of philosophy, science and theology. We believe that some of our most urgent problems of Christian apologetic may yield to treatment if dealt with through the medium of this up-to-date philosophy of which Mr. Rawlins has given us a glimpse. He is equally at home with recent exploratory work in the field of Logic and with the ideas of ancient philosophers such as Anaxagoras.

Aesthetic we know, but what of The Gestalt. "Gestalt" says our author, "means 'configuration', 'shape', 'whole' or 'form' with an underlying insistence upon an integrative property, and by such an integrative property is suggested that the Gestalt is meaningless, apart from the inclusion of the 'parts' within the 'whole'." These "parts" are essential to the "whole", and yet the whole, in the event, is found to differ from its constituent parts in both degree and in kind. A remarkable truth which is incontestable and yet very likely to confound the superficial, or the materialist. Such considerations lead to the brink of a "fundamental law of significance, fundamental for processes outside physics".

All this synthetic application of scientific and philosophical methods to the borderland of philosophy and theology cannot be neglected any longer by our theological colleges. We commend it to the few of them which are likely to see this journal. It is pioneer work and bound to prove important. Mr. Rawlins's book will be fully reviewed. We shall await that review with eagerness.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF AMERICA

The history of the Anglican Communion in America is probably unfamiliar to many of our readers in the United Kingdom. We read the history of the U.S.A., but we seldom learn much about the Episcopal Church. For this reason we commend to all a *Miniature History of the Episcopal Church* by Dr. W. H. Stowe, Historiographer of the Church.

The story of the Episcopal Church is full of significance. In the early days much was due to the S.P.G. which assisted with financial aid both missionary and educational work. Dr. Stowe gives a moving picture of the Church in the Eighteenth Century, "hamstrung in the full exercise of its spiritual powers by the dominance of the state over the mother Church of England". For 177 years it was without a bishop and without diocesan organisation. The colonial churches were in theory under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. Every candidate for the ministry had to make the long, troublesome and expensive journey to London.

The Revolutionary War led to many difficulties for clergy who had taken an oath of allegiance to the King. During that period an outstanding priest, William White came to the fore and set in train important measures of organisation including the consecration of William Seabury by three bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

The Episcopal Church was the first autonomous Church to be organised outside the United Kingdom; it was the first to found an episcopate free of state control and free from civil functions; it was the first to prove that a Church of Anglican origin could flourish without state support.

As Dr. Stowe says, Christianity is now engaged in a life and death struggle. The present strength and independence of the Episcopal Church is a matter for congratulation.

BELRA

Recent numbers of the quarterly journal of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, known as Belra, contain much information which will hearten those who have witnessed the ravages of leprosy.

It is good news, for instance, to learn of the success of a plan of control operated in the Owerri Province of Nigeria during the last twenty years or more. In this badly infected area the occurrence of the disease in children has been reduced "from 50 per cent. or more to only 2 per cent. of the new patients". The Nigerian Government has been led to assume responsibility for the work of the Association in that area, and to extend it to other parts of its great territory. It is calculated that Nigeria has a leprosy incidence of some 500,000.

This information is included in an Appeal by Sir Leonard Rogers which appears in the "Quarterly" for last October. It is estimated that 100,000 persons in the British Empire develop every year symptoms of leprosy which could be treated and controlled if funds were available.

This remarkable association is doing notable work in many parts of the world. In December last began the building of the Ibesio Research Centre which has been established by Belra in co-operation with the Kenya Government for the study of problems peculiar to East Africa in the treatment and control of leprosy. This centre lies within easy reach of two well-established leprosaria, those at Kumi and Buluda. Not far away, also, is the University College of Makerere. By means of new methods of treatment it is possible to arrest the spread of leprosy. But much remains to be done, and funds, as well as workers, are urgently needed.

W. R. INGE

In an age when the interpretation of Christian principles, addressed effectively to an infidel society, is rare, it is just to offer a warm tribute to W. R. Inge. The years of his most active work—the 'twenties and 'thirties—were marked by trends unfavourable to Christianity. It was the hey-day of the Bloomsbury group, when many journalists who sought the biggest rewards were atheists, and of the Left-wing in politics. No age has been fraught with more difficulties for the Christian propagandist. In opposition to such trends Inge's voice was clear, well-informed and outspoken. Inge was a penetrating thinker, with a mind on which passing fashions had no effect, and—a not very common quality in public life—a fearless exponent of the truth. The Church of England has reason to be proud of him. Indeed the whole of Christianity is in his debt, and Roman Catholics, of whom he was, at times, a severe critic, have spoken with admiration of his writings.

In contrast to some of his contemporaries he deemed honesty and courage to be necessary marks of a priest. In the early days at the Deanery of St. Paul's he had to face some unpopularity in the newspapers. Some men would have tried to propitiate the pundits of Fleet Street. Inge kept on his course. In time courage and sterling intellectual gifts prevailed, and he became himself a frequent and effective writer to the Press. Some of his friends deprecated this step. But there is no doubt that his lively and yet scholarly articles in the *Evening Standard* became a fruitful instrument of propaganda in just those circles on which the Church is apt to turn its back.

In one of his early works Inge argues that the revelation which Christ brought was so far in advance of the minds of those who received it that Christianity was like a tender plant of the climbing sort seeking to attach itself to any support that it could find. It was one of Inge's lifelong tasks to disengage the pure truth of Christianity from its alien supports.

Consonant with this work was the study of Christian mysticism. Such studies are widely pursued today. Works on mysticism, both Christian and non-Christian, are read by a great public. The public is more interested in religious experience than theology. At the beginning of the century there was a very different outlook. No influential writer for a very long time had written a substantial work on mysticism. Inge was breaking new ground with his studies in mysticism, and when in 1904 Methuens published a little volume of selections from the German mystics of the Middle Ages it soon ran into a second edition. Those whose attention had been turned to mystical theology with Inge's help were delighted by the appearance in 1919 of two solid volumes on the philosophy of Plotinus. It was a new departure, the significance of which can be understood when we recall how much subsequent attention has been paid to the saintly neo-Platonist. It is as a student of that very important branch of religious thought, the Christian mystics, that Inge rendered a signal service to the Church.

Inge delighted the scholar. But he had a gift, less common in a man of his mould, of being able to attract the common reader. He was constantly writing and lecturing, an inveterate enemy of the half-truth, of fashionable errors, and of the muddled thinking of the supposed experts in a number of fields. Like Socrates, he became a fearless challenger of illusory beliefs. Learned, penetrating, and capable of felicitous expression, he was able to gather a large public whom he addressed on a variety of subjects. Inge was deeply concerned about the present critical position of humanity and anyone who reads his many works will note this underlying anxiety. This, no doubt, was what led to the silly description, given him in 1911, of the gloomy dean. He was a realistic diagnostician, whose whole task lay in the effort to use the high office which Herbert Asquith had given him for the education and conversion of his countrymen. Fundamental truths were his major preoccupation, not the marginal speculations of scholars or the minutiàe of biblical study.

His indifference to partizan divisions and his rapier-like style often occasioned hostile criticism, but such criticism was most common in those who had never studied his thought, enshrined, as it was, in a large number of substantial treatises, and, as so frequently happens in religious discussion, were content to repeat what someone else, usually no better informed, had told them.

The Church has lost a wise friend.

A Civil Service Centenary

By FRANK WHITTLE

THIS year the permanent Civil Service is celebrating an important centenary. It is not the centenary of its birth: "the effective date" (to use the official jargon) of that happy event is not easy to establish: it might be somewhere in the middle of the 18th century or, if that great administrator, Samuel Pepys, can be classed as permanent, nearly another century earlier. This is the centenary year of the report of the Northcote-Trevelyan Committee, published in February 1854, which has had a profound effect on the development of the Civil Service in this country. For all its importance, this report has not hitherto been widely known in the Service, and it is now being republished, as part of the centenary celebrations. Further, by a happy thought emanating, we believe, from Sir Edward Bridges, the Head of the Civil Service, Professor K. C. Wheare, Gladstone Professor of Government and Public Administration in the University of Oxford, was commissioned to deliver a lecture* on "The Civil Service in the Constitution" before the University of London on 16th February. It is appropriate that the lecture should have been given by a Gladstone Professor, since it was Mr. Gladstone, as ever an ardent champion of reform, who in April 1853, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, initiated the setting up of this committee, consisting of Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Charles Trevelyan, "to inquire into the organisation of the permanent Civil Service": and it was in June 1870, when Mr. Gladstone was for the first time Prime Minister, that the reforms proposed in the report were substantially carried out.

Lectures on the Civil Service are not always inspiring — not himself much addicted to public speaking, the civil servant is rarely the cause of eloquence in others, except possibly of a denunciatory kind — but Professor Wheare's lecture, besides bearing the mark of wide and selective research, is most stimulating and wholly admirable in its insight, lucidity and humour.

Before we pass to the recommendations of the Northcote-

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* *The Civil Service in the Constitution.* By K. C. Wheare. The Athlone Press. 2s. 6d.

Trevelyan report, it may be useful to consider the background against which it was written — the mode of entry, methods of work and social status in the middle half of the last century of what may be termed the Higher Civil Service, corresponding roughly to the Administrative Class as it is known today. Evidence can be obtained both from the Report itself and from the writings of Walter Bagehot and Anthony Trollope, the one an eminent student of constitutional theory and practice and the other a civil servant for 33 years. At this time entry into the Service was achieved by a mixture of political influence and nepotism. Notwithstanding, the Service was, rather surprisingly, *permanent* and provided a life career, unlike its counterpart in the U.S.A. where "the spoils system" operates and many jobs change hands when a different political party comes into power.

Family influence was strong. Anthony Trollope tells us in his Autobiography that he was enabled to enter the Service in 1834 because a close friend of his mother was daughter-in-law of the permanent head of the Post Office, of whom the eldest son was assistant secretary in the same office and another son secretary at the Stamp Office. Later when Rowland Hill, the originator of the penny post, became Chief Secretary at the Post Office, we find Trollope's brother-in-law as second in command and Hill's brother as the junior secretary.

There was no central system of examination to test the fitness of candidates. Many departments insisted on some sort of examination, but each conducted it in its own way, and standards naturally varied; in other departments there was no examination worthy of the name. Trollope gives a detailed description of his own examination in the Three Clerks (published in 1858) and in his Autobiography. Looking back in 1876 he says of himself "I could neither read French, Latin or Greek. I could speak no foreign language. Of the merest rudiments of the sciences I was completely ignorant. My handwriting was in truth wretched. My spelling was imperfect. There was no subject on which examination would have been possible on which I could have gone through an examination other than disgracefully." It is interesting to look forward and note that Trollope up to the end of his life was a firm opponent of the examination system. He argued that, in spite of his own lack of the most elementary scholastic attainments when he entered the Service, he had been an efficient Civil Servant. This is perfectly true, but it is an *argumentum ad hominem*: there are few Anthony Trollopes.

The quality of the work was not exacting, nor were the hours oppressive, though Trollope seems to have considered them so. "The Civil Servant" he writes "must sit in his office from ten to four, unless his office is fashionable, when twelve to six is just as heavy on him."

Bagehot in "The English Constitution", published in 1867, writes more objectively. His assessment of the Civil Service of his day is far from enthusiastic. In discussing and rejecting a suggestion by some political theorists that the permanent head of a department should have the right of speech in the House of Commons, he remarks that "such a person would rarely speak with great ability. He would speak as a scribe. His habits must have been formed in the quiet of an office: he is used to red tape, placidity and the respect of subordinates." Again, when discussing Bureaucracy he describes the characteristics of permanent officials as follows: "It is an inevitable effect that bureaucrats will care more for routine than for results: or, as Burke puts it, 'that they will think the substance of business not to be much more important than the forms of it'. Their whole education and all the habits of their lives make them do so. They are brought young into the particular part of the public service to which they are attached: they are occupied for years in learning its forms — afterwards, for years too, in applying these forms to trifling matters. Men so trained must come to think the routine of business not a means, but an end."

Nor does the public service confer any social status. The heads of departments possess some social prestige, but "except in a few offices like the Treasury, which were once filled with aristocratic people and have an odour of nobility at second hand, minor place is of no social use. A clerk in the public service is 'nobody'; and you could not make a common Englishman see why he should be anybody." The British Government cannot, he says, compete with foreign administrations in the quality of its officials. "The foreign bureaux are filled with a selection from the ablest men of the nation, but only a few of the best men approach the English offices." Bagehot has not much confidence that this unhappy state of affairs can be remedied; "Our middle class", he complains, "is very unfit to give us the administration we ought to have"; although he seems to see a ray of hope in the improvement of middle-class education in the preceding 25 years.

Bagehot's words were written 13 years *after* the Report had been published and though he must have known of its existence — his father-in-law signed the minute constituting the committee—he is curiously silent about it. As Professor Wheare shows, there was considerable disquiet as early as 1848 about the state of the Civil Service and the Report was only the culmination of a series of investigations into individual departments, in which both Northcote and Trevelyan took a leading part. The two reformers had also prepared the ground by showing it in advance to Benjamin Jowett, then fellow and Tutor of Balliol, and, somewhat irregularly, *The Times* had been let into the secret and wrote in support of it before its publication. Even so, although the Report did not exactly come out of the blue, its effect was explosive. Its main proposals were revolutionary. These are summarised by Professor Wheare as, " First, that admission to the Service should be by competitive examination and not by patronage: second, that promotion within the Service should be by merit and not by seniority alone: third, that there should be a distinction within the Service between manual or copying work and intellectual work: and fourth, that the Service should be organised as a single service and not as a fragmentary, disintegrated service ".

The proposals aroused intense interest, became the subject of acute controversy and were canvassed not only among distinguished civil servants but also among other persons eminent in the study of administration and in education. Sixteen years elapsed before substantial progress was made towards implementing them. The fiercest opposition, it appears, centred round the first proposal. It was only the Reform Act of 1867 that brought the abolition of patronage within the sphere of practical politics. This reform enabled the Civil Service at length to provide a career for the sons of middle-class parents who possessed neither political influence nor powerful family connections. But the abolition of patronage by itself would not have produced an efficient service of the sort that the authors of the Report desired. " A hundred years ago ", says Professor Wheare, " Civil Servants spent years of their lives in copying documents " and the third proposal, the differentiation in the Service between manual and intellectual work, was essential in order to attract the best men by giving them the prospect of satisfying and responsible work which would provide full scope for their talents.

In the second part of his lecture Professor Wheare discusses certain aspects of the Civil Service as we know it today, and in particular its relations with the world of education and with politics.

From the start, the plan of reform was warmly welcomed by the schools and universities. Jowett, as we have seen, supported it in advance and distinguished headmasters and professors followed his example. So enthusiastic was the reception that some of its opponents, we are told, were unkind enough to suggest that the plan was designed more to benefit the schools and universities than to promote sound administration. However that may be — and it certainly achieved both these results — a link was forged between the Service and the universities which has never been broken and today the latter continue to contribute men of high intellectual calibre—" double-firsts " among them—to the Administrative Class. Some critics see here a distinct weakness and suggest that this method of recruitment tends to produce not efficient administrators but, in Professor Wheare's words, " professors in disguise ". Underlying this criticism is perhaps the conventional mistrust of the self-styled " practical man " for the theorist, but it is unquestionable that a good administrator requires, among many other qualities, a capacity for making a decision—and often, with the pace of modern life, a quick decision; and it is arguable that this capacity is not obviously fostered by a study of academic subjects such as philosophy and higher mathematics. There is the story of the junior administrator who, faced with the necessity of taking decisive action on a practical problem of some complexity, sent a minute to his senior expounding at length the pros and cons of a particular course and ending with the word " Submitted ". Back came a second minute " Approved ". " What is approved?" asked the junior. " What you propose " was the reply. On the other side, we have it on the unimpeachable authority of Sir Edward Bridges, that the civil servant needs " much the same qualities as are called for in the academic world, namely the capacity and determination to study difficult subjects intensively and objectively, with the same disinterested desire to find the truth at all costs, the same willingness to face the truth when it turns up in unexpected places and in what may be, for practical reasons, an inconvenient form, the same readiness to scrap much hard work which has already been done when one finds that one has started on the wrong track ".

This is not, of course, to say that other qualities are not required.

It is noteworthy that the Civil Service Commission in its impressive and somewhat alarming catalogue of the virtues of the ideal civil servant lays stress above all on the need for judgment and common-sense. With the introduction of the " country-house " system after the war, less emphasis is placed, in the examination, on purely academic attainments and some effort is made to assess the character and temperament of the candidate as well as his brains. There are also two factors peculiar to our time which help to preserve the Service from being narrowly academic. First, almost all candidates will have gained in maturity and variety of experience from their two years' national service. Second, not all the members of the present Administrative Class have the same educational background. Largely owing to the impact of the war, when the examination was in abeyance, many responsible posts are now filled by men without a university training brought in at middle age from other professions, or promoted from lower grades within the Service. Indeed, a few men of exceptional character and ability who started their official career immediately after leaving school, on the bottom rung of the ladder, have risen to be heads of departments. It is well that the Service provides a *carrière ouverte aux talents* and enables every civil servant to carry a letter of appointment as permanent secretary in his despatch-case.

The Higher Civil Service has inherited a strict tradition of political neutrality. Trollope tells us that, while in the Post Office, he delivered a lecture on the Civil Service — which, not unnaturally, gave offence to his official superiors — in which he advocated " that a civil servant is only a servant as far as his contract goes and that he is beyond that entitled to be as free a man in politics as those who are in open professions and open trades." Freedom to take an active part in national party politics has recently been extended in the lower grades of the Service, but the ban has not been lifted for members of the Administrative Class, who are responsible for formulating policy and at some stage of their careers are likely to come into contact with Ministers of whatever party. This is a wise limitation and no one who has the best interests of the Service at heart would wish it removed. Nevertheless, the Higher Civil Servant cannot in his official capacity dissociate himself from politics. His work is conducted in the midst of politics; he must show a constant awareness and an intimate, though detached, understanding of political trends and personalities and cannot afford to ignore the political implications of any plan of action which may seem administratively desirable.

Some people may see in this a danger that the Higher Civil Servant may stray outside his proper sphere and become, as Professor Wheare aptly puts it, a " Minister in disguise ". We have already referred to the suggestion that the permanent head of a department should have the right of speech in the House of Commons; this, according to Bagehot, was current in the 1860s when there was " a kind of admiration for bureaucracy " in England, excited by the examples of France and Prussia. The suggestion was not accepted and it is a fair assumption that bureaucracy, in the sense of government by permanent officials without effective control by Parliament, is never likely to commend itself to the political sense of the British public, nor to civil servants themselves. The relationship between a permanent official and a Member of Parliament is essentially simple, that of servant and master. " All dealings between Members of Parliament and civil servants ", says H. E. Dale in " The Higher Civil Service ", " are subtly coloured by the knowledge on both sides that the civil servant is by profession a man under authority, and the politician part of the assembly that wields the authority. To put it in the most invidious way, the Civil Service is in the last resort a profession of subordinates to politicians." As a corollary, the civil servant expects that his Minister will not only be a capable administrator, but will be popular in the House and be prepared to defend his department wholeheartedly — so far as the facts will allow — against Parliamentary criticism.

It is symbolic of this relationship between official and politician that when the permanent head of a department, with his official team, " goes down to the House " to assist his Minister by supplying answers to questions raised in debate, he is seated in an official gallery which is raised above the floor of the Chamber and technically outside it.

One of the most striking features of the reformed Civil Service is the tremendous increase in its authority and scope over the last forty years, a development which was not of its own seeking but is due to the enlargement of State activity following on two world wars. Owing to the sheer volume and variety of the work, it is inevitable that a Minister should delegate more to his expert advisers and that the official should decide, on the Minister's behalf, matters which in more leisurely times would have been reserved for the latter's personal decision. But this in itself has not altered the fundamental subordination of the official to the Minister and to Parliament. Should there be any tendency for civil servants to exceed their authority, the remedy, as Professor Wheare suggests, is to be found in " stronger Ministers and a more independent and vigilant House of Commons rather than in weaker Civil Servants ". Is it fanciful to claim that a stable Civil Service like our own, which maintains its traditions of loyalty to changing political masters, impartiality towards the public, integrity and industry, is likely to be a safeguard against totalitarianism and an influence for the survival of democracy?

The Early Evangelicals

By G. C. B. DAVIES

MARK Pattison's essay on the tendency of religious thought in England from 1688 to 1750 contains the following statement: " Even those who look with suspicion on the contemporary complaints from the Jacobite clergy of ' decay of religion ' will not hesitate to say that it was an age destitute of depth or earnestness; an age whose poetry was without romance, whose philosophy was without insight and whose public men were without character; an age of ' light without love ', whose ' very merits were of the earth, earthy '. In this estimate the followers of Mill and Carlyle will agree with those of Dr. Newman. . . . It is especially since the High Church movement commenced that the theology of the eighteenth century has become a byword. The genuine Anglican omits that period from the history of the Church altogether ". [1]Such a view of the religious condition of England during the eighteenth century has been widely held by Church historians for a considerable time. That it should still be held to-day, however, argues an unfamiliarity with recent work which has placed that period in a truer perspective.

This change has not come about through any tendency to whitewash obvious defects, or by the polemical writings of those who see in that century only the " golden age " of reason, but by a patient appeal to facts. Of the Church of this period, Professor Sykes has remarked: " It would be vain to pretend that churchmanship in the Hanoverian age was of a mystical or other-worldly character; or even that within the sphere of earthly citizenship it exalted the heroic virtues and called for asceticism and self-denial "; yet, he continues, " At its best the Latitudinarian teaching delivered its adherents from unworthy and superstitious notions of God by its emphasis upon the witness borne to his nature by the order of the created universe and by the doctrine of his Fatherhood proclaimed in the Gospel, so that its evangel prepared men with fortitude to resign their souls into the hands of a Maker whose mercy was even as his majesty."[2] This sober statement is supported by figures of confirmations from the dioceses of Lincoln, Worcester, and Exeter, which, together with communicant figures, provide a picture of Church life in general that can hardly be dismissed as sterile and barren. But within this general picture there occurred during this century a movement which was to have immense practical consequences. If the writings of such men as Waterland, Joseph Butler, and Warburton in the Trinitarian and Deist controversies of the first forty years of the century against Samual Clarke, Toland, Tindal and Collins in particular, brought intellectual victory for those who upheld the historic faith of the Church, yet the words of the Apostle that " faith without works is dead " remained abundantly true. On the moral and spiritual side, the Church seemed to wait for the intellectual victory for its awakening. When this occurred, the new wine of its enthusiasm threatened to burst the old wineskins of the prevailing Latitudinarianism with the rise of Methodism and of the Evangelical Party within the Church. If the Methodist movement has received considerable attention, yet as Canon Charles Smyth has remarked, " The Evangelical Party itself has never received its due from the historians."[3] Now there appears an attempt, so far as the first half-century of the movement is concerned, to fill this gap on a considerable scale, by the publication of *The Early Evangelicals: a Religious and Social Study.* (L. E. Elliott-Binns. Lutterworth Press. 31s. 6d.) Dr. Elliott-Binns is no stranger to this period, for his shorter work *The Evangelical Movement in the English Church* was published in 1928. Here, however, he confines himself to the years 1735-89, and produces a fully documented account of what might be called the pioneering period. This is firmly set against the background of the political, social, economic, intellectual and literary conditions prevailing at this time. It was the age of Walpole and the elder Pitt; the age which saw the defeat of the Young Pretender in the '45, the inglorious following decade to the beginning of the Seven Years' War; the resounding victories of Clive in India and Wolfe in Canada; the constitutional issues involved in the case of John Wilkes and the *North Briton;* and concluded with the disastrous loss of the American colonies and the outbreak of the French Revolution. Meanwhile the industrial revolution was changing the face of rural England through the development of the factory system, which brought increased wealth by the rapid expansion of industry, trade and commerce, largely by the exploitation of cheap labour. It was an age of low moral standards, yet these did not greatly deteriorate, as is often believed;

rather do we find that an awakening social conscience drew increasing attention to the prevailing conditions with a view to their betterment. There was a growing awareness on the part of a few of the evils and sufferings around them, which led, *inter alia,* to the foundation of many hospitals such as the Westminster, Guy's, and the Middlesex among others. Both science and philosophy placed increasing value on the individual, an attitude which found religious expression in the Evangelicals' emphasis on the necessity for a personal faith in Christ. This age also saw the emergence of the modern novel through such writers as Fielding, Smollett and Sterne, while the plays of Goldsmith and Sheridan did much to raise the standard of the theatre. Mention should also be made of the galaxy of musicians at this time, and the contributions to sacred music of such composers as Handel, Boyce, Croft, and Samuel Attwood.

The general attitude to religion throughout the first half of the century might be described as sceptical rather than atheistic; many indeed regarded religion as necessary for the preservation of public order. Dr. Elliott-Binns well sums up the position: "As one ponders over the course of religion in the eighteenth century, one lesson seems to stand out prominently: that a faith which never gets beyond preaching up reason and morality is powerless to reform society or to meet the spiritual longings of the individual" (p. 95). And because the bulk of the population had not the opportunity, the education, or the intellect to profit by the largely academic defence of religion and morality, it is not surprising to find that it was among the poorer and uneducated classes that the eighteenth-century revival had its beginnings. The origins of the movement are obscure, but the streams of revival broke forth almost simultaneously in many parts of the world. In England the great names are those of John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield; yet in effect, though not in intention, there arose through them a new denomination, in the formation and growth of Methodism. The effect of the movement within the Anglican Church was the appearance of certain clergymen, loyal to the Anglican doctrine and ministry, who went by the name of Evangelicals. They strongly insisted on their distinction from the Methodists, and it is a striking fact that very few of them owed their "enlightened" views to the ministry of the Wesleys, Whitefield, or other of the early Methodists, though undoubtedly the Evangelical movement as a whole owed much to their work. By contrast, it is of interest to note how many of them were influenced by reading William Law's book, *The Serious Call.*

Among the earliest Evangelicals were James Hervey of Weston Favell, author of some popular but rather sentimental books; Samuel Walker of Truro, founder of probably the first Evangelical "Clerical Club" in 1750, of whom Dr. Elliott-Binns writes: "His importance for the early days of the movement can scarcely be exaggerated, though it is often overlooked, and if during this period there was a leader it was he who occupied the position" (p. 169); William Grimshaw of Haworth, militant evangelist of the bleak Yorkshire moors; William Romaine, who was for many years the only Evangelical incumbent in London, at St. Andrew-by-the Wardrobe and St. Anne's, Blackfriars; Henry Venn of Huddersfield and Yelling; and Fletcher of Madeley, to whose Christlike life Voltaire bore moving testimony. The work and influence of the Countess of Huntingdon is also important; she invited Whitefield and many others to preach for her, appointing them her chaplains, and making every effort to bring those of her own class of society within sound of the Evangelical teaching, though, it must be admitted, without conspicuous result. Her foundation of a college at Trevecca, and the appointment of Fletcher as its first superintendent, foreshadowed a break with the Church of England, and when she was compelled to register her chapels as Dissenting places of worship, all her chaplains resigned, after which her contacts with Evangelical clergymen practically ceased. Yet she deserves to be remembered for her zeal and assistance in placing some of the earliest Evangelicals in important livings, and for her influence upon Lord Dartmouth, whose patronage and great wealth were subsequently devoted to the furtherance of good works and in aiding many needy clergymen.

Both the Methodist movement and the early Evangelicals suffered as a result of a division of opinion among their leaders caused by the Calvinist controversy. While the Arminian views of John Wesley led him to disagree with the Calvinism of Whitefield, the cleavage is more pertinent to the relationship between Wesley and the "regular" Evangelical clergy, who were for the most part moderate Calvinists. Their moderation may be illustrated by two quotations from Richard Cecil and Henry Venn. The first wrote: "Justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ is declared, not explained. Let us not therefore darken a subject which is held forth in a prominent light by our idle endeavours to make it better understood"; while Venn could say: "Though the doctrines of Grace are clear to me, I am still no friend to High Calvinism . . . Predestination cancels the necessity of any change, and dispenses at once with all duty".[4] One danger of Calvinistic teaching lay in the possibility that unstable minds might be led to Antinomianism, and even Newton admitted that the saintly Romaine had unwittingly led many into this error.[5] While these differences chiefly affected the Methodists and the followers of Lady Huntingdon, they increasingly influenced the relationship of both to the "regular" Evangelicals, who were further estranged from the Methodists in particular on this doctrinal question. If only Toplady wrote pamphlets of unchristian violence of language, yet the unfortunate controversy caused a serious setback to the revival movement, and contributed towards the eventual separation of both Methodists and the adherents of Lady Huntingdon from the Church of England. In an important and penetrating chapter, four main features are given as distinguishing the Methodists from the Evangelicals even from the earliest days of the revival: the clericalism of the latter, as opposed to the Methodist reliance upon the lay-preachers for the maintenance of their work; the strict churchmanship of the Evangelical clergy, which increasingly identified the Methodists with Dissenters; Evangelical dislike of certain Methodist practices, for example the prayer meetings, with their "endless and senseless effusions of undigested prayers", such as Hooker had condemned in the Puritans, and the practice of itinerating; and the Evangelical appeal, broadly speaking, to the middle classes, while the lay-preachers worked amongst the very poor. Another point of some importance often overlooked is that Wesley had a great regard for the Primitive Church, many of his supposed innovations being derived from it, while the Evangelicals, especially as the movement developed, looked to the Reformation and Puritan traditions for their devotional and practical examples, though without following the Puritan attitude towards episcopacy and the Liturgy. The breach came about gradually and almost imperceptibly, due partly to the increasingly aggressive outlook of the lay-preachers chafing under the humiliation (as they saw it) of being dependent upon their parish churches for the administration of the Sacrament, and the interrelated problem of their exclusion from Orders. The really decisive year was 1784, in which "ordinations" were performed for work in America, and Wesley drew up his Deed of Declaration which gave the Methodist Conference legal standing, in effect setting up a new form of Church government, which the inauguration of the circuit system in 1791, the year of his death, merely put into more efficient operation. Dr. Elliott-Binns gives careful consideration to the curious blindness of Wesley as to the results of his own actions, and in particular, that, despite his continued exhortations to his followers to remain in the Church, he seemed to be unaware both that separation had virtually taken place through his appointment of lay-preachers, and of their desire for it. His correspondence with Walker as early as 1755 discusses the whole matter in great detail, when the opposing arguments of expediency and discipline were most clearly expressed, and principles enunciated which were implemented in the following generation.

The next seven chapters describe the expansion of Evangelicalism on a geographical basis, in London, the eastern and south eastern counties, the midlands, the north and the west, and in the universities, mention being made of the lesser-known and obscure figures, and further attention being given to the leaders in each area, including such outstanding laymen as Thornton and Wilberforce. A consideration of Evangelical methods gives a prominent place to the importance of preaching. Such sermons as have come down to us are not now adjudged particularly impressive, apart perhaps from those of Walker, yet their effect in many cases was extraordinary, notably in the case of Whitefield. They were marked by simplicity and intense earnestness, giving evidence on the whole of careful preparation, though there were exceptions where lay-preachers gave extempore open-air sermons. The establishment of societies for the after-care of the awakened was a feature of the Methodist movement, and was adopted by some of the Evangelicals, such as Walker and Simeon, both of whom recognized, however, the danger of conceit and emulation among the society leaders. Wesley found it necessary to give his societies constant supervision if strife or backsliding were to be avoided. Hymn-singing was a novel and popular feature of Methodist worship, and was adopted more slowly by most Evangelicals; the hymns of such men as Charles Wesley and John Newton are now a cherished part of the whole Church's heritage. Methodists and Evangelicals alike gave great attention to the religious training of the young, but in their anxiety to pursue this important task they were liable to commit the errors of scrupulously shielding their children from all evil influences by such close supervision of reading, activities, and friends, as led in later years to revolt and antagonism to Christianity; and of forcing their children's spiritual development until adolescence provoked a violent reaction. The wiser leaders were aware of these dangers, but it is a striking fact that many children of the prominent Methodists and Evangelicals proved a disappointment to their parents in later life. But to a wealthy Evangelical layman, Robert Raikes, belongs the credit of starting the Sunday School system, which for some 170 years in varying forms has had an immense influence upon the whole Christian Church.

Dealing with Evangelical doctrines, the fact is rightly stressed that these were the doctrines of the Church of England as contained in her Prayer-book, Articles, and Homilies. But certain of those generally neglected were revived and emphasized, such as mankind's fallen state, the atoning work of Christ, the power of the Holy Spirit in personal life, and the need for daily prayer and Bible reading. The first duty of Christians was so to present the message of the Gospel that men were convicted of their sinfulness, and brought to trust in Christ as their personal Saviour through his substitutionary death upon the Cross. Simeon's statement is quoted as typical of the general teaching of the Atonement: namely, that Christ " in his death ' became a curse for us that he might deliver us from the curse ' to which we were doomed. Thus he did not merely die in our stead, ' the just for the unjust ', as a common victim in the place of the offender, but he fully discharged our debt in every particular; so that neither law nor justice can demand anything further at our hands ".[7] With this, the views of Walker of Truro, for example, were in close agreement.[8] Man received salvation by faith alone, having no righteousness of his own to plead and no good works were of any avail. Yet care was taken to ensure that faith was not itself a " work ". As Walker put it: " Doth faith justify? I answer, No; it is the obedience of Christ which justifies ".[9] The experience of conversion, or turning to Christ, or the new birth, could be instantaneous, or in the case of some, born and brought up, perhaps, in godly homes, there might be a gradual awakening to an already existing state of heart, entered into at some unknown previous date, but an experience none the less undoubtedly genuine. As it is still widely believed that instantaneous conversion is the normal Evangelical experience, it should be stressed that there are many like those of whom another contemporary writer speaks: " The humble, true believer . . . possesses life, and is assured of his new birth, not only because he manifests the qualities of the new life which [St.] John has elaborated, but because he possesses Christ himself, and he has the sure testimony of God that ' he who has the Son has life ' ".[10] The work of the Holy Spirit, both in bringing conviction of sin, and as the source of power for the new life, was instrumental in effecting the sanctification of the believer through a gradual process, in response to the believer's trust and obedience. Emphasis is rightly made of the Evangelicals' high regard for the Prayer-book and the Sacraments, mention being made in particular of Walker's teaching on the Holy Communion. Large communicant figures also testify to the heartfelt response to the preaching and example of Grimshaw and others on this subject. The chief doctrinal weakness was that by concentrating on the individual's needs, Evangelicals (with some notable exceptions) over-emphasized the prophetical aspects of the Church's life at the expense of the priestly. The literature of the movement, apart from the work of Hannah More and Cowper, was not of outstanding distinction, though mention should be made of Walker's sermons, Scott's commentary, Milner's history of the Church, and the hymns of Charles Wesley and Newton.

The real achievement of the movement lay in making men and women realize that true religion was not primarily concerned with outward acts, but consisted in a personal relationship with God through recognition of Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord. As a result of the Evangelical revival, there arose a far higher conception of clerical duty, and a more serious outlook on life among the laity, who were increasingly brought to discern the relevance of a living faith to every department of life and work. The criticism by the Hammonds in *The Town Labourer* that Evangelicals cared only for the souls of men, whilst doing little to improve their earthly lot, is superficial and unjust in view of the immense efforts that were made in this very field. As Canon Smyth has pointed out: " within the incredibly brief space of half a century, the Evangelicals, although a minority, converted the Church of England to foreign missions, effected the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery, and initiated factory legislation and humanitarian reform, healing the worst sores of the Industrial Revolution. Has any Church in

Christendom accomplished so much in so short a time?"[11] Criticism has also been directed to the disciplined lives of the Evangelicals, and particularly as seen in home and family circles. Usually they have been condemned for their lack of aesthetic appreciation, and for their negative attitude towards such amusements as card playing and the theatre; but there was also a positive side. The stress laid upon regular prayer and Bible study, and the conception of a stewardship alike of great wealth or slender means, with the sense of responsibility to make regular gifts to all manner of good causes, from the princely munificence of the Thorntons to the humblest and poorest—these set a standard of sacrifice, self-denial and devotion worthy of their high ideals. By 1789, which closes the period dealt with in this book, the main lines of the Evangelicals' contribution to Church life were apparent. They were clearly distinguished from the Methodists, but they lacked the unity of that body. The prejudice against them within the Church was steadily breaking down, though they had many years to wait before any of their leaders received official recognition and preferment. The absence of a single leader to whom they could look for guidance and direction was keenly felt. The personality and ability of Walker might well have qualified him for this position in the early years, but for the geographical seclusion of his ministry and his untimely death. It was not until after this period that there arose in Simeon at Cambridge a man with the organizing genius and statesmanlike mind which the movement urgently required for gaining the needed unity and cohesion. For the history of the first years of the movement, Dr. Elliott-Binns has given in this book a welcome and valuable study, covering all aspects of its character and influence, which no historian of the eighteenth century can afford to neglect. It is to be hoped that further volumes will appear dealing in an equally comprehensive manner with the later history of the Evangelical Party, and its contribution to the Church of England, and indeed through its missionary activities, to the whole Anglican Communion, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

[1] Mark Pattison, *Essays and Reviews,* p. 254.

[2] Norman Sykes, *Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century,* pp. 419f.

[3] *Cambridge Historical Journal,* vol. vii, No. 3, p. 167.

[4] Quoted Elliott-Binns, p. 196.

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[5] *ibid,* p. 200.

[6] See Davies, *The Early Cornish Evangelicals,* chs. v and vi.

[7] *Horae Homileticae,* xi, p. 591; quoted Elliott-Binns, p. 389.

[8] cf. e.g., *Fifty-two Sermons,* vol. ii, pp. 341, 394.

[9] *Nine Sermons on the Covenant of Grace,* p. 30.

[10] *Men with a Message,* J. R. W. Stott (The Bishop of London's Lent Book, 1954), p. 131.

[11] *Cambridge Historical Journal,* vol. vii, No. 3, p. 170.

Quid Athenis et Hierosolymis?

Christianity and the Greeks

By J. N. ROWE

THE purpose of this article is to examine the way in which Christianity is related to classical thought with special reference to two recent books which also discuss this subject. The first of these, entitled *Christ and Time* (in the English translation), is the work of a continental writer, Dr. Oscar Cullmann: and in it he roundly condemns such thinkers as Clement and Origen for attempting to reconcile Christianity with Greek philosophy on the ground that, like the Gnostics (though to a lesser extent), they thus became guilty of " violent reductions and reinterpretations of the New Testament message ";[1] whereas he praises Irenaeus on the ground that, though he himself was well acquainted with Greek thought, he refused to be betrayed by it into supposing that Christian redemption could be described as anything other than an historical process which presupposes the fact that God created the universe at a particular point in time, was initiated by the saving acts of the Incarnate Christ at a particular time in human history, and will be completed when at some future date he returns in glory and thus brings human history as we know it to an end. We shall suggest in due course that in forming this conception of redemption Dr. Cullmann is himself unduly influenced by the distinctive outlook of Judaism; but what we are most concerned to point out is that without undertaking any such detailed examination of Greek, and especially Platonic thought, as the present writer has elsewhere attempted, he considers that classical thought did not regard the redemption of man as being accomplished in history at all but rather by the transportation of the individual into a changeless, and therefore timeless, world which, though it co-exists with the changing world of sense, is sharply distinguishable from it. But although Platonism in its later forms exemplified this outlook, and may well have been the main source whence Gnosticism derived it, we are not therefore entitled to suppose that Plato himself nowhere regards the two realms as complementary and indeed as being brought into this relation by the practical activity of the human intellect. Indeed, the activity of Christ himself may be described as revealing eternal truth in his own life and thus inducing his disciples to adopt that truth as a pattern for their own; and Dr. Cullmann therefore does less than justice to those writers whom he stigmatizes as deciding " what is or is not central for salvation on the basis of this or that idealistic position, rather than on the basis of what the Gospels themselves present in the history that they transmit "[2]; for such events as the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection can only be regarded as having redemptive significance if the uniqueness of Christ's personality as displayed in his teaching and his other activities is already recognized. In other words, if the supernatural element of the gospels is accepted as historical fact, we can only interpret it as supplementing and confirming the revelation of God which was imparted in the first instance by the teaching and the less spectacular activities of the Lord.

Cullmann thus provides, at any rate in the view of the present writer, a less than adequate account of the redemptive process when he condemns the view that in Christ " [timeless] eternity invades and conquers time ", and insists that we must rather say that with the coming of Christ " time has reached its midpoint ", and that "a new division of time " has thus been established.[3] For it is none the less true that with the coming of Christ eternity invades time in the sense that the unchanging nature and purpose of God is fully revealed in Christ, and individuals are therefore rendered capable of recognizing the status which they are qualified to occupy. namely. that of participating in the fulfilment of the divine purpose. But if such is the way in which Christ's influence is displayed, namely, when his disciples freely and willingly make the principle of his activity their own, it becomes more than doubtful whether the conception of the Second Coming which Dr. Cullmann seems to favour. namely, that it will take the form of a theophany such as was predicted in Jewish apocalytic,[4] can be maintained without considerable modification. For though he rightly criticizes the dualistic conception held by later Platonists of the relation existing between the visible and invisible realms, he seems himself to accept the apocalyptic view of Judaism too readily when he suggests that the process of history will come to an end at a definite time, and that an entirely new order of things will then be inaugurated.

There is no space here for a full discussion of the subject; but the more one examines the New Testament evidence the more difficult it becomes to decide what view of the Second Coming was taken by Jesus himself. For even though the New Testament evidence bears out Cullmann's contention that an interval was expected to elapse between the death of Jesus and the Second Coming, the actual date of that Coming is put at different times in different passages. There seems little doubt that the conception of an apocalyptic advent became established very early in the Church, but that the date of that Coming was successively postponed as the original expectations were disappointed.[5] We are therefore entitled to doubt whether the apocalyptic view of the *Parousia* formed part of the original teaching of Jesus and was not rather developed by the early Church, inasmuch as it identified him with the supernatural " Son of Man " who appears in later Jewish apocalyptic as the vicegerent of Jehovah.[6]

But not only in his conception of the *Parousia* does Cullmann betray an undue bias in favour of the Judaistic interpretation of the temporal process, but also in his discussion of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, where to the unprejudiced mind it is surely evident that the writer was influenced by the Platonic conception of two coexisting realms one of which was the archetype of the other; for the only sense in which Cullmann will allow that early Christians believed in an invisible world is that of a world of spirits who employ earthly agents for the execution of their purposes. But he finds it hard to reconcile this view with the definition of faith propounded in Hebrews; for it is only the first part of that definition, namely "the assurance of things hoped for" (xi, 1), which harmonizes with his own view of redemption; but when the writer adds the other half of the definition, " the conviction of things not seen ", Cullmann is content to see in it " a reference to the time process " (in what sense, however, he does not inform us), whereas the unbiased mind would surely suppose that the writer is here making what Cullmann calls " the spatial contrast between the Here and the Beyond ".[7] But we should surely not be misinterpreting the writer if we regarded the two halves of the definition as complementary, especially in view of what he goes on to say about the action taken by Old Testament heroes on the basis of their faith; for it was only because they believed that they were contributing to the realization of the eternal purpose of God that they adopted the course of action related of them. Indeed, Cullmann himself appears to accept this view when he says that " the Epistle speaks *not only* of the Beyond but also of the future Jerusalem " (in such passages as xi, 10 and xiii, 14)[8]: for the message of the writer seems to be that only when the outward life of man is fashioned in accordance with the divine will can the New Jerusalem (which is itself adumbrated in the *Republic* of Plato) be brought into being.

But if, as we have suggested, the argument of *Hebrews* is incomprehensible without reference to the Platonic outlook, St. Paul's doctrine of the function of the State under the present dispensation is likewise incomprehensible unless we assume that he had in mind the Stoic conception of " a law of nature " (though how far he was consciously indebted to the Stoics is an open question). The passages suggesting this are quoted by Dr. Cullmann himself (Acts xvii, 22 foll., Rom. i, 18 foll., Rom. ii, 14 foll.); and the last two explicitly state that men were endowed from the beginning with the faculty of discerning the nature of the Creator of the visible world and the law upon which he requires them to base their actions; it is therefore hard to see what Dr. Cullmann means when he says[9] that in these passages " the problem of the relation between the Christian redemptive revelation and a non-Christian revelation is not discussed "; for it is only because a non-Christian or natural revelation exists that, even though the Gentiles are not acquainted with the precepts of Judaism, they yet possess the faculty of performing the "works of the law" and are thus accountable for their actions (Romans ii, 14, 15). It is true that St. Paul also says that though God was originally recognized by the Gentiles he was not glorified by them, and that their minds therefore became more and more insensitive to the divine commands; and in this sense the natural revelation of God, as Cullmann says, " now as before Abraham . . . only leads to guilt "[10]: but it remains true that if this natural revelation had not been imparted the preaching of the Gospel would have been ineffective. And it is precisely because St. Paul recognizes that pagan society itself has a limited power of understanding and fulfilling the divine will that he assigns to the State the functions described in Romans xiii, 1-7. For Cullmann does not give as complete an explanation as he supposes of such a passage as Romans xiii, 1-7 when he interprets it as meaning that the angelic powers who, according to Jewish thought, preside over earthly governments have " lost their evil character . . . . by their subjection under Christ "[11] and can therefore be regarded as servants of

God. He admits that St. Paul remains " sufficiently critical of the State to ask his hearers to avoid the State courts ", and that the author of the Apocalypse regards the imperial power as directly opposed to Christ.[12] But it is not enough to say in explanation of these facts that the angelic powers in question will not be wholly subjected till the *Parousia;* to do so would be to take entirely inadequate account of human freedom. Cullmann goes on to point out that, whereas believers have been forbidden to avenge themselves in xii, 19, the State is regarded as executing divine vengeance in xiii, 4; but though it is thus acting on a principle at first sight opposed to the Christian law of love, it is to be obeyed because it executes vengeance not on its own behalf but as the servant of God. But such a conception of the functions of the State is based on the all-important assumption that (to quote Cullmann) " it agrees with the Church . . . concerning good and evil ", as is indeed implied in Romans xiii, 3; but how is the secular authority enabled to make a distinction between good and evil actions except by the aid of a natural revelation of the Divine will such as is implied in the idea of conscience? It is therefore difficult to believe that St. Paul was not influenced by some such theory of a " law of nature " as that propounded by the Stoics and expressed in the famous passage of Cicero[13] where he says that the ultimate law of the universe seeks to commend itself to the human reason as being self-justifying and is thus adumbrated, however dimly, in the laws which prevail in particular States.

But, now that so much as this has been said, it will not surprise us if we find that Dr. Cullmann in his preoccupation with the historical aspect of redemption has little or no use for the views of those writers who regard redemption as effected when individuals adopt the principle exhibited in the life of Christ, a principle which may be called by various names, of which " reverence for life " is one.[14] But Dr. Cullmann seems wrong in supposing that the Christian norm " belongs to the very field of the historian "[15]; for the truth seems to be that according to the Christian Gospel the Eternal God has revealed his unchanging character in a human life, and that the various phases of that life should be regarded as individual manifestations of that character. Thus Christianity indeed affirms a " transcendent datum lying beyond history " which nevertheless has the power of influencing the course of history, and has done so to a special degree in the life of Jesus Christ. The question then arises whether the Christian Gospel is or is not bound up with the supernatural events which, according to the New Testament writers, were features of the life of Jesus; and it is because Cullmann fails to distinguish the principle exhibited in Jesus' life from the particular events related by the evangelists that he regards such writers as Bultmann and Schweitzer as in effect abandoning Christianity altogether when they regard redemptive history as (in part at any rate) a " myth " of which the Christian revelation can be " unclothed ".[16] It is perfectly true that, according to the primitive Christian outlook, for which the New Testament writings provide the main evidence, Jesus of Nazareth is indeed " the (supernatural) Christ of Israel "[17]; but the question is then raised (though it is ignored by Cullmann) how far the " witness of faith " expressed in the Gospels " has history itself for its object "[18] in the sense that it gives a faithful picture of the actual life of Jesus, and how far the original events of that life were embellished or exaggerated by the pious imagination of the early Church. It is not the purpose of the present writer to discuss that question here: he is only concerned to suggest that the problem has been over-simplified by Dr. Cullmann because he regards redemption as effected by certain historical events rather than by the manifestation of a principle which gives significance to those events.

But if the chief defect of Dr. Cullmann's book is the fact that it takes inadequate account of the extent to which classical thought is of assistance in the exposition of the Christian faith, the work of C. N. Cochrane on *Christianity and Classical Culture* seems characterized by a tendency to confuse currents of thought which in the present writer's opinion should be set in sharp distinction from each other. With the main theme which Cochrane is concerned to expound we naturally agree; for he considers Christianity to have gained a clearer insight into the principle by which the universe is governed than classical thinkers had possessed, and to have expressed that principle in the Trinitarian formula. We are not, however, prepared to concur with his argument altogether, inasmuch as he does not take sufficient account of the fact that such philosophies as Platonism attained a clearer understanding of that principle than did either the early Ionians or the Stoics (at any rate in their earlier phase) or the Epicureans. He says initially that though the fourth-century Fathers regarded the kingdom of God as consisting of a secular society which had been regenerated by

Christianity, they recognized that this process was only capable of being accomplished if the pagan world were to abandon its existing scheme of values and adopt instead the Christian scheme.[19] Now the scheme of values which each school of thought adopted was ultimately founded on the principle by which it explained the universe; but when Cochrane suggests that the Greeks invoked no other type of causality than that which science investigates,[20] he condemns the whole course of classical thought in an altogether too sweeping fashion, and ignores the fact that it is to some extent divisible into two traditions: the first being mainly represented by the Platonic school and regarding the universe as derived from the craftsmanship of a God whose nature bears an affinity with that of man, and the second being represented by such men as Democritus and Epicurus who followed the Ionians in regarding the universe of our acquaintance as derived entirely from the potentialities of the matter of which it is composed. According to the second outlook, human freedom is either non-existent or merely exercised in an ultimately hopeless struggle with an external universe ill-adapted to human purposes.

Cochrane betrays the extent to which he attempts to associate Platonism with schools of thought which are in reality altogether dissimilar from it when, having said that Greek *scientia* represented nature as a " closed system of orderly relationships " (namely, the relationships of which physical science takes cognisance), he then says that, while the elements of that system were conceived by some thinkers as consisting either of various material substances or of matter and void, others (by whom he presumably refers to Plato) regarded them as consisting of form and matter.[21] For the fundamental axiom on which the whole Platonic system rests is the assertion that, so far from the sensible world being the sole object of knowledge it is only half real when compared with the world of Forms which is the sole object of genuine knowledge, and of which the world of sense is only a dim adumbration. Cochrane well observes that though the early Greek philosophers recognized that it was necessary to invoke a principle of Being, namely an underlying substance which phenomenal changes leave unaffected, and a principle of Becoming, which is manifested inasmuch as the phenomenal universe is subject to change, they were not equally successful in discovering a principle of order or intelligibility which could serve as an effective link between the other two, and therefore tended either to regard change as an illusion (as Parmenides did) or to ascribe it to physical causes only (as Heraclitus did); and even such schools as that of Hippocrates, which attempted to discover a principle of order, were content with principles discoverable by scientific investigation, or, as Cochrane himself puts it, " ignored primary in favour of secondary causes ".[22] Thus in the time of Plato no principle of order had yet been discovered which was sufficiently all-embracing to establish a reliable link between the principle of being and the principle of movement; and though Plato came very near to discovering such a principle he eventually tended to regard the world of change as itself illusory, and thus to regard the Form of the Good not so much as a principle which was capable of governing that world as the mere apex of a hierarchy of changeless Forms. But if it was the chief defect of Platonism that it failed to define the Form of the Good in such a way as to render it capable of influencing the world of sense, the main defect of Stoicism consisted in the fact that it failed to realize (in its earlier phases at any rate) that the principle whereby it sought to explain the events of the phenomenal world, namely Destiny, could not be invoked as the sole explanation of the conduct of human beings without destroying the very basis of ethics. Hence, though (to quote Cochrane again) " the Stoic *logos* was (originally) conceived impersonally as an ' immanent cosmic reason ' ", such a notion did not in fact " provide a (sufficient) sanction for Stoic *sapientia* "[23], at any rate as expressed by Seneca in such propositions as " the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man ". For though the conception of Fate may appear to provide an adequate explanation of the behaviour of the physical and biological realms in so far as the events occurring therein can be explained by reference to the causal processes discoverable by science, such a conception is incapable of explaining the cosmic process as a whole, including, as it does, human history.

But if Cochrane, as we have suggested, does not sufficiently distinguish the *scientia* of the Platonic and Stoic traditions from that of the thoroughgoing materialists, he also considers that the outlook of the classical historians, and especially that of Herodotus, was more closely bound up with that of the materialistic school of philosophy than we are justified in supposing. He recognizes that according to Herodotus a principle is demanded whereby the vicissitudes of human history can be explained; but when he supposes that Herodotus adopts the Heraclitean principle whereby the different elements formed from the primal fire are not suffered to obtain a more than temporary preponderance over each other, he not only fails to supply any genuine evidence in support of his view but ignores the various passages[24] which would appear to show that, though the theological outlook of Herodotus was not altogether identifiable with the polytheism of Homer, it nevertheless implied the existence of a personal Deity who was capable of punishing the arrogance of man, and thus bore a distinct resemblance to the retributive conception of Jehovah's activity by which the historical books, and to a lesser extent the prophetic writings of the Old Testament, are marked. To say, therefore, that the cosmological theory of Herodotus is derived from that of Heraclitus on the ground that Herodotus regards the human ψύχη as itself an aggregate of material particles, and thus as conforming to the law by which the entire material universe is kept in a state of equilibrium[25], is to attempt to force the outlook of Herodotus into a materialistic framework of which there is not the slightest indication in his own writings.

It would be a far truer description of Thucydides' outlook (though not an entirely true one) to say that for him " self-consciousness resolves itself into a consciousness of impotence in the grip of material necessity ". There is, indeed, no evidence for supposing that Thucydides held the view that the universe is explicable on such a principle as that invoked by Heraclitus; but though, as Cochrane says, he recognized that human nature " possesses a capacity for creative thought and action "[26], he also recognized that human projects are always liable to be wholly or partially frustrated, whether by external circumstances or by the opposition of other men. It seems probable that, though he recognized that the events of the physical world were amenable to scientific law, he described certain physical events as occurring " by chance " because neither he nor his contemporaries were sufficiently well acquainted with the causes of their occurrence[27]. And in the sphere of human history itself he takes a view which is partly, if not wholly deterministic, at any rate if we may judge by the famous passage in Book 1 where he says that his history will be found useful by those who wish to learn the course which future events will take, since it will substantially correspond with that of the events which he is about to narrate. And when we examine the nature of the principle by which he regards human actions as being motivated, we find that it mainly consists in the desire of power, a desire which is eventually thwarted, not, as Herodotus imagined, by the interposition of Divine agency, but by the resistance of other human agents. The evidence forthcoming for this assertion is twofold. In the first place, when he narrates the causes of the war which he is mainly concerned to describe, he makes it clear that underlying the ostensible grounds of conflict, which consisted in the alliance which Athens had made with Corcyra and the Athenian blockade of Potidaea, there existed a more fundamental cause: namely, the Peloponnesian fear of Athenian aggression, a fear which the events just mentioned merely served to accentuate[28]. And the historian further underlines the theme of his history in the two speeches which he puts into the mouths of Pericles and of the envoys sent to Melos.

The gravest defect of the Thucydidean outlook was the fact that he failed to realize that although the events of human history will always be characterized by a certain degree of uniformity, inasmuch as man is subject to the laws of the physical world and to those of his own being, yet, in so far as he is endowed with the gift of rationality and the freedom involved therein, he is capable of appropriating a principle of action whereby the events of history will cease to conform to the Thucydidean pattern: namely, the rise and fall of imperialist States, and be characterized instead by the co-operation exhibited when individuals and communities employ their abilities and resources for promoting the common welfare. And if it be asked where such a principle is to be found, the answer, as Cochrane well says, is discoverable in the Augustinian conception of man as a being who is not ultimately opposed to the natural world (as the Platonists thought) or in conflict with it (as Homer and the tragedians and Thucydides himself tended to suppose) or submerged in it (as the more materialistic schools and the Stoics themselves in their earlier phase considered) but is subject, together with that world, to the Divine will[29]. But though, as Augustine says, " nature reveals itself as a hierarchy of concrete existences . . . which move according to their own specific principles ", Augustine would not " find ground for asserting the universal sovereignty of God in the spectacle of evolving nature "[30] if Christ had not already revealed that the principle whereby the entire universe is explicable is identical with that which is intended to govern human activity; for it is precisely when exclusive attention is devoted to the principles whereby the lower orders of creation are governed, principles such as that of "natural selection", that men find it most difficult to believe in the providence of a benevolent God [31]. But inasmuch as man is capable, in virtue of his rational faculty, of acting in accordance with a higher principle than the mere cupidity whereby the activity of animals is so largely characterized, a principle, moreover, which was supremely exhibited in the life of Christ, we are enabled to recognize that the divine nature is more completely reflected in human nature than in any other level of the created order.

It is on these assumptions that Augustine bases the distinction which he makes between the *civitas Dei* and the *civitas terrena* [32]. The two societies are not simply to be identified with the Christian Church on the one hand and secular society on the other: for by *civitas terrena* he does not so much denote secular society in itself as that society in so far as its life has not yet been regenerated by the substitution of Christian values for those values whereby its activity was originally governed. So long as the members of that society are impelled by *amor sui*, which is itself a perverted development of the legitimate desire of self-preservation, so long will "objects of appetition" be inadequate to supply the demands of all, and intestine strife will consequently ensue. (But indeed the strife prevailing between one state and another is also ascribable to the same cause, as both Thucydides and Plato were at pains to demonstrate.)

To sum up, then, we may regard Augustine as having continued, if he did not entirely complete, the work of the Alexandrian and Nicene Fathers, inasmuch as he demonstrated that though the principle on which Christianity is founded was not entirely anticipated by any of the classical philosophies but was peculiar to itself, it remained true that these philosophies were not altogether alien from the Faith, their chief defect being that they tended to confine their attention to particular aspects of the entire universe, the Platonic school to the realm inapprehensible by the senses and the Stoic and Epicurean to the sensible world. But if the achievement of Christian theology can be said to be that of showing that man is an inhabitant of both spheres, and thus showing that they are complementary to each other, it follows that a man like Augustine is a more genuine representative of the faith than such a man as Tertullian[33]; for Augustine seems to have realized, like Plato in his earlier phase, that if the Kingdom of Heaven cannot be built on earth it cannot be built anywhere, but that since it is even more important that man should become acquainted with his own nature than with that of the sensible world, the Utopia which Plato desired will only come into being when scientific knowledge is employed in due subordination to the overruling principle expressed in the Greek word *ἀγάηπ*.

[1] p. 57.

[2] p. 56, end of note 8 on ch. 2. He refers apparently to such writers as Schweitzer and Bultmann.

[3] On p. 93 of his book.

[4] He discusses the matter on pp. 148-150.

[5] See *I. Thess.* iv, 13-18; *Mark* xiii, 14-30; *Matt.* xxiv, 15-31; *Luke* xxi, 32 and xxi, 24 (in which two different views are expressed); *Rev.* xvii, 16-18 and xix, 11-21; *II Peter* iii, 3 and 4, 8 and 9.

[6] See *Doctrine in the Church of England*, pp. 204-206, where it is suggested that the apocalyptic imagery of Scripture may be regarded as symbolic of the fact that all phases of human history are subject to the divine judgement.

[7] p. 37.

[8] pp. 54 and 55.

[9] On p. 180.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] p. 196.

[12] p. 199.

[13] *De Rep III*, 33.

[14] A phrase quoted on p. 30 of Cullmann's book.

[15] p. 22.

[16] p. 28.

[17] The word in brackets is not part of the text of Cullmann's book but seems to express his meaning more clearly (p. 32).

[18] p. 31.

[19] p. 359.

[20] This seems to be his meaning when he says that "the Greeks conceived of it (i.e. the ἀρχή) as a 'cause'" (p. 362).

[21] pp. 421 and 422.

[22] pp. 422-4.

[23] pp. 165 and 166. The words in brackets were added by the present writer in order to clarify the meaning of the original.

[24] e.g. *VII* 10 (4 and 5), *VII* 46, I. 32, I. 34, I. 86.

[25] This argument is developed on pp. 458-468.

[26] p. 471.

[27] Cf. IV, 3, 1 with II, 48, 3.

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[28] Cf. I, 44, 2 with I, 36, 1, 2.

[29] p. 436.

[30] The passages quoted can be found on pp. 440-2.

[31] Cf. Raven, *Science, Religion and the Future,* pp. 101-103, where he points out that both Dr. Gore and Dr. Barnes, however much their theological views may differ, recognize the obstacles placed in the way of theistic belief by the suffering of the animal world.

[32] Expounded by Cochrane on pp. 488 foll.

[33] Whose famous question forms the title of this article, which seeks to answer it.

Reason and Revelation: Is Barth Consistent?

By B. M. G. REARDON

FOR the philosopher as for the theologian there is a problem which seems never to lose its power to command attention, since it is one to which man's contemplation of his own nature and destiny is bound sooner or later to give rise. It is the problem whether, and if so to what extent and in what manner, God has revealed himself to us in order that we, while yet subject to the inevitable limitations of our finite existence, may both come to a knowledge of his mind and purpose, and in communion with him and in obedient submission to his will, recognize and fulfil the one true law of our being. To the several questions which it involves there have of course been many and various answers: their range is bounded, on the one side, by the view which urges the fundamental disparity of the divine and the human and denounces philosophy for a vain delusion, and on the other by that which, as between philosophy and religion, seeks an ever-growing harmony, to the point indeed of merging them into one. Differences of conviction on this great theme occur, it need scarcely be pointed out, not simply between Christians and non-Christians; they are found, very notably, among Christians themselves, and by no means always in accordance with the familiar lines of ecclesiastical division. They spring from men's diverse interpretations of what Christianity essentially is, and their implications are far-reaching.

Religion and philosophy, man's reason and God's revelation—what positive relationship have they? To what degree do they confirm or contradict each other? The reply given, in our day, by Dr. Karl Barth is as forceful and uncompromising as could be desired. Barth's doctrine is frankly that of an extremist, and as an extremist we must either take him or leave him; to his critics he often appears to reduce to absurdity the very position which he is bent on maintaining. Most Anglicans, with the Anglican Church's tradition of Platonism behind them, believe that a Christian philosophy is both possible and necessary. Christians when they look about them and apply their faith to the data of human experience cannot but think speculatively, cannot but philosophize. Yet Barth's disparagement of all philosophy is of such weight and penetration that studious examination of it must be regarded as an indispensable preliminary to any attempt to restate Christian doctrine in philosophic form. The present article is intended only as a modest anticipation of the full-scale critique of Barthianism which yet remains to be undertaken, a critique which the intrinsic importance of Barth's work abundantly merits. For the theology of crisis is to be accounted significant not merely with reference to the particular circumstances in which it happened to make its historical appearance. The times certainly were ripe for a breach with the prevailing liberalism, but Barth's achievement represents something more than a mood of reaction. Whatever may be our final estimate of it we are bound to admit the gravity of its challenge and the extent of its influence.

Barth's underlying assumption, the postulate to which his teaching ever harks back, is that of the radical and essential discontinuity between God and man. The latter, he holds, cannot of himself aspire to the divine, for he is " wholly the prisoner of evil and the devil ". Man is utterly un-Godlike. All his purposes are in opposition to God's. He is a sinner from head to foot. Barth insists that the will of God is something external to us and completely *other*: it is not " a corrected continuation of our own ". " The divine is a whole entire in itself, a kind of new reality different from the world and in contrast to it." So too is human society " a whole in itself ", " without access to the kingdom of heaven ". Between them there is a "flagrant dualism", a "terrifying opposition". We can no longer, therefore, allow ourselves to be duped as to the true character of human theories and ideologies: " dead is all metaphysics ". Barth again and again asserts or implies that it is impossible for man, with the ideas and aims natural to him, "to make sensible and intelligible" (as he puts it) that Event which is central in the Scriptures and in which the mighty acts of God culminate and are fulfilled. As compared with all other events, this Event is *totaliter aliter*. In short, the essence of man's being not only shares nothing with the divine essence, but stands in a relationship of complete contradiction therewith.[1]

This thesis is sustained throughout Barth's writings. Whatever apparent modifications may here and there emerge he leaves us in no doubt as to his basic position. God is to be conceived by us as absolute transcendance and as absolutely free; man, on the other hand, as in all his faculties corrupted by sin and in the matter of his own salvation impotent. For in man the Fall has laid waste—nay, if we read Barth correctly, has destroyed—everything. Or at least the only thing to be excepted from this universal ruin is man's residual capacity of being redeemed, on the sole condition that such redemption lies wholly in God and for God. His salvation is indeed a miracle. The doubt, however, which at once leaps to mind is whether, where all is said to have been destroyed, anything of man's nature yet survives to be redeemed and saved. It is to be noted that Barth prefers to call man's regenerate state one of *re-creation* rather than of reformation.[2] Strictly speaking, the sinner as such cannot be regenerate; his corrupted nature must first be suppressed in order that the "old man" may be replaced by a new creature. But this belief as to the consequences of man's sin carries with it implications the hard logic of which Barth certainly has no wish to deny. For as man's nature is to be judged, so also are his *works*—in so far, that is to say, as they are done apart from revelation and the order of grace. Barth's attitude to philosophy thus follows naturally from the premisses of his dogma. But before proceeding to examine it in detail let us pause a moment to question them. Do they or do they not offer us an acceptable account of man and his spiritual capacity? Whence do they derive? Barth's contention is, of course, that what we have here is a truth of divine revelation, a Biblical datum not to be disputed nor, rightly, even discussed by us. Yet (we must ask) are we simply to take his bare *ipse dixit* therefor? Is this stern teaching a just or adequate expression of the Scriptural doctrine of man and his relation to God? A discriminating exegesis may lead us to another and different conclusion.

According to the Bible, man through sin has become weak and errant and by nature disposed to wrong. Does it, however, go so far as to proclaim that nothing now remains in him of the *imago Dei*—that unique character with which his Maker in the beginning endowed him? The idea is hardly congruous with the teaching of Jesus that every human soul is as such precious in the sight of God. The Christ of the gospels calls upon men to live as becomes children of the heavenly father. Those, whosoever they might be, were his "brethren" and his "mother" that should do the will of God. His words and actions in no wise suggest that he looked on humanity as in itself worthless or as so perverted by sin as to be incapable of response to the divine love. Moreover, the idea of an utterly transcendent God, hidden from and inaccessible to us, is not that of One to whom the faithful believer already stands in a relation of sonship. Rather is it a purely metaphysical notion, as of a remote First Cause or Author of Nature, or a doctrine akin, if we look for its parallel in religion, to that of at least one phase or school of thought in Judaism. But is he whom Christians are taught to worship "in spirit and in truth" to be portrayed after the same manner? The revelation of the New Covenant surely forbids it.[3]

Religion concerns the relationship of God and man. Systematic thinking about religion, therefore, involves both a theology and an anthropology, and to each Karl Barth has made a contribution as impressive as any in our time. Yet can we, as we read the Gospels, say that in the matter of man's knowledge of God he is right? Do not the simple facts become distorted under the weight of his dogma? In justice, however, it behoves us to look at his teaching a little more closely, for it may be that we have not allowed for certain qualifications which he himself is careful to introduce.

It would seem, indeed, that Barth's theology has not always been so consistently transcendentalist. Thus in an early paper, "The Christian in Society", he assures us that "our human independence of the divine is not ultimate".[4] It is not only that God miraculously intervenes in Jesus Christ in order to effect a salvation which on man's part would have been beyond all bounds of possibility. What he means is that—to use his own words—"we find ourselves committed to the task of *affirming God in the world as it is* and not in a false transcendent world of dream".[5] God, he says, "desires to be known and honoured as Creator in the simple facts and acts of human life". "In all the social relations in which we find ourselves, we must perceive something ultimate in the mere fact of their being and having come to be; we must affirm an original grace as such; we must accept orders of creation there as we accept the orders of creation in the natural world. We thereby commit ourselves not to what is mortal and godless in the world, but to *the living and divine element which is always there*".[6] Such admissions, however,—if their author will still countenance them—

introduce an important modification of the categorical statements already cited, statements which may be summed up in the charge that " all that we are is contrary to God ". One may wonder, indeed, whether the modification does not amount to an open contradiction. *All,* apparently, has not been destroyed. Rather, Barth bids us affirm " the thesis of humanism that even fallen man is the bearer of the divine spark ". Let us, he exclaims, say Yes to life! Here surely it is a different voice which speaks, a much less familiar voice and a more attractive one. Why, then, has he since dropped this tone? Doubtless we must attribute something to the impetus of his own rigorism; he has found himself obliged to become more, not less, extreme. We have also to take into account his intense dislike of both the rationalist theology of the eighteenth century and the liberalism of the nineteenth. But whatever the motives, conscious or unconscious, by which Barth's thinking has been led, his consistent purpose now is to impress upon us the truths of the absolute freedom of God and of the complete " otherness " of the divine as an order of reality beyond human comprehension. He envisages a gulf between all that mortal man conceives and wills and what God in his infinite mercy and condescension has been pleased to reveal to him. Not only, Barth holds, could the truth of revelation never have been anticipated, but its substance transcends rational analysis and interpretation. From these key-principles ensue his characteristic rejection of " natural theology ", his condemnation of all religions other than Christianity, his apparent contempt for logic and his systematic depreciation of philosophy.

" God is in heaven, and thou upon earth ".[7] Man the creature is immeasurably distant from God the Creator, who, in his sovereign power, is altogether hidden from him and inaccessible to his searching. It must therefore be denied that we have any " rational " or inferential knowledge of God, any intimation of his Being on the plane of merely human experience. We possess no faculty or means through which we are capable of such knowledge of the divine reality. Neither " reason " nor " religious experience " will serve us. Indeed, when men talk of God it is not God who is in their minds but only a man-made concept or image. God alone can speak of God. Hence the necessity, as also the absolute authority, of revelation.

If, then, man has nothing in him whatsoever wherewith to prefigure or anticipate the content of God's self-disclosure, neither has he, of himself and by himself, the capacity even to receive it. Nor, on the other hand, is God under any kind of obligation towards him, but is absolutely free, independent and self-sufficient. It follows, therefore, that Barth will have nothing at all to do with the immanentism associated with the idealist and modernist philosophies of the generation into which he was born; on the contrary, his doctrine is through and through — to use a term from the immanentist vocabulary—" extrinsicist ". He contends that our human presuppositions, in all that concerns the order of revealed truth, are erroneous and misleading. As touching what revelation might or might not comprise, or the form and manner of its delivery, we have no word to utter. To venture upon this unknown terrain can result only in an inversion of the true sequence of things in the God-man relationship, and hence in a total misunderstanding of the very nature of revelation. " It can be stated ", we are told, " with the utmost decision that every theology, be it liberal or orthodox, in so far as it rests overtly or tacitly upon this inversion is not a theology of the revealed ".[8] Should the theologian imagine that he is privileged to occupy a sort of intermediary position between God and man, then let him know that he is "absolutely blind in what concerns the reality of God's revelation ".[9] This inversion, so Barth maintains, is the great temptation of all theology. In our approach to revealed truth we must clear our minds of *a priori* conceptions; it is for revelation to judge us, not for us to judge revelation. In this the order of knowledge must reproduce the order of being.[10] What Barth fears, plainly enough, is that man, forgetful of the true sequence of realities—that God is in all things *prior to* man—will in effect, if not with explicit intent, come to put himself on an equality with God, and at last—such is his ineradicable pride—even to sit in judgement upon him.[11]

While the warning is certainly to be heeded, the fallacy in the argument is its confusion of the *method* with the content of doctrine. The fact that the Christian thinker has to begin with his own experience—with himself, that is to say—does not in any way imply that he thereby substitutes his own subjectivity for God, especially when he realizes that the light of his reason is itself a God-given faculty and that therefore, as between reason and revelation, there can be no inherent contradiction. Barth's basic error, we would repeat, is in postulating an entire disparity and necessary antagonism between the divine and the human. That if the divine is to gain entry the human must be suppressed is the underlying assumption of his method both in exegesis and in dogmatics. But it is a method which, for the unwary, is likely to obscure the fact that dogmatics, and indeed all theological thinking, are a human activity—as he himself has perforce to admit.[12] Yet he tells us that "Holy Scripture should be allowed to dictate its own principles of interpretation."[13] "The method of theological knowledge consists simply in allowing the object to determine thought and terminology. The Word is not subject to human premisses; it is human premisses which are subject to the Word."[14] But here again the confounding of method with doctrine is patent, and his rejoinder that what may be true enough in other fields of knowledge does not and cannot apply to divine revelation, which is wholly unique, does not dispose of the objection.[15]

But a further difficulty presents itself. How in truth can we speak of "knowledge" when our theory requires, as Barth's certainly appears to do, the virtual elimination of the knowing *subject*? The latter's rôle is not simply passive; he is an actor and not a mere spectator. Barth would probably retort that we cannot, in strictness, speak of *knowing* God at all, since knowledge implies intellectual comprehension; whereas God cannot be comprehended, our thought-norms being wholly inadequate and unfitted thereto. God is not, he says, an object to be contemplated as a part of our world-experience: "of him one cannot speak because he is not a thing—neither a material thing nor a spiritual."[16] He is therefore ineffable. Likewise divine revelation, for which also we have no proper categories and terms. Revelation is eminently a mystery (*ein Geheimnis*) beyond intellectual analysis or explication;[17] and the vice, Barth thinks, of so much theology, ancient and modern, is its vain effort to express the inexpressible.[18]

If, of course, we grant him these premisses, then doubtless every attempt to reduce the content of revelation to intelligibility can only result in misrepresentation. But why should we grant them? Must we account it a virtue that we close both mouth and mind before those very matters which are of such transcendent moment to us? Is our theological language so hopelessly inadequate—indeed, so positively misleading and delusive? Yet theologians—Barth himself is surely the last to be excepted—go on talking and writing. What, then, are they doing? It would seem, if we interpret Barth aright, that what the Christian thinker says is saved from being merely nugatory only by God's direct intervention. In so far as he speaks truthfully and purposefully, it is God who speaks within him. Yet, if our incapacity be as great as Barth claims, how can we understand—how could man ever have understood—what God utters? So once more have we to weigh the question of our subjectivity and its due place in the apprehension of revelation. It is something which we can by no expedient of miracle escape. In the determination of our thought-norms and terminology the object cannot alone be the operative factor, and to demand that we remain human while surrendering all function of our humanity is to call for the impossible.

As Barth really is well aware. It is, he admits, clear that " we are not in fact in a position to separate ourselves from our shadow ", to bring about a *sacrificium intellectus*: how else could we arrive at an objective understanding of the sacred text save by our own ways of thinking?[19] Which is obvious enough; but does it not falsify his previous argument? The truth surely is that it is absurd to profess to follow a method which requires the elimination, to all intents, of the knowing subject himself. And Barth, let us recognize, is too hardy a thinker to gloss over the difficulty. " He who seeks to explain the Bible cannot do otherwise ": as observer and interpreter he betrays himself, consciously or unconsciously, in everything he says; he approaches the text from the standpoint of a determinate theory of knowledge and of a logic and ethic no less determinate, as well as from quite definite " representations bearing upon the relations between God, the world and man ".[20] " Each of us ", Barth continues, " holds a philosophy, even the most humble of Bible readers—the latter perhaps with a particular confidence and tenacity; but certainly also the instructed reader who is manifestly and entirely devoted to the study of the Bible." It is, as he remarks, " grotesque " to observe, ever and again, how men believe that they have a right to point the finger of reproach at others, past or present, for having fallen prey to this or that philosophy whilst they themselves have before their unclouded eyes only the white light of reality. " Of no one is it true to say that the Gospel has not been intermixed by him with a philosophy." As justly may it be supposed that he is, here and now, and otherwise than by faith, pure from all sin.[21]

Such are Barth's statements; but what, in the end, are we to make of them? What is the relationship between human reasoning, or philosophy, and the revelation which is contained in the Bible and the Bible alone? On the one hand—so the argument runs—we cannot ignore the demands of the rational intelligence, which are not only necessary but legitimate; on the other hand we have also to recognize that as between God's revelation and human speculation there is no affinity, the two things being disparate and alien to each other. What part, then, have reason and philosophy to play in our understanding of that revelation? Barth is ready with his answer.

In the first place, he tells us, it must be clearly realized that our thought-norms are of their nature inadequate to the understanding of the divine reality; we have perforce to make use of them, but let us claim nothing on their behalf. Hence, secondly, all that we can ever arrive at is a certain tentative venture (*Versuch*) at interpretation, a kind of hypothesis, open to instant revision with any enlargement of our knowledge. Nevertheless we can hardly refrain from asking how, on the supposition that our terms and categories are so inexpressive of the Mind which is disclosed in revelation, they can be of service even to this limited extent. But according to Barth, in so far as we *can* interpret the Scriptures it is only because of the divine grace which they mediate. Yet this *deus ex machina*—if the expression be pardoned—is no solution of the intellectual difficulty which his position involves. Furthermore, these tentative interpretations can be made, so Barth will have us understand, on the basis of more than one set of presuppositions. We may approach the Scriptures from this philosophical angle or that; one is as good as, or no worse than, another. But this happy tolerance of any sort of philosophy cannot conceal his real antipathy towards all philosophies. Their fault is that they are human—man-made systems which partake of as many defects as fallible reason is heir to. In the long run nothing is to be expected of them, any more than of the corrupt humanity out of which they come. Only grace will ever avail.

Yet once more Barth's condemnation of reason received a certain specious qualification. " The use ", he says, " of the schematization of human thought in the interpretation of the Scriptures is legitimate and fertile only when it is a critical one."[22] But he goes on to relate that the criticism he has in mind is not a criticism of the Scriptures by reason but of reason by the Scriptures. It thus remains evident that he cannot really stomach the thought of our subjectivism. Yet if the reason is to submit to criticism by the Scriptures, then surely the implication must be that we can after all attain to some sort of authentic knowledge of what the Biblical revelation is *in itself* and apart from our commonly accepted thought-norms. What, however, of his previous assertions con-ing the inevitable intermixture of the subjective element in our understanding of the Bible? The reader is left to conclude that Barth is unable to disclaim his prejudice against the unhappy fact of our humanity—of that subjectivism which not only attends, always and inseparably, everything which we think and do but which is inherently a part of us and without which we should forfeit our very identity. As he himself so aptly observes, " the most dangerous subjectivism is that which is founded on the claim of a false objectivity ".[23]

So, then, our human concepts and categories share nothing with the divine, and not only are without intrinsic value but in the main are an obstacle to our apprehension of God's revelation. The most that can be claimed for them is that they have a certain symbolic value, in enabling us to work out a terminology. But neither is it clear, on Barth's view, why one scheme of symbols should be thought preferable to another: why, in other words, we should favour *this* theology rather than *that*? It would seem that to Barth's mind—since theologies are mutually destructive and in their contradictions cancel one another out—the mere fact of the continual reappearance of new schemes will hasten the discredit which all alike deserve. We shall thus be led to see how paltry and inadequate such symbols are in comparison with the profound realities which they purport to express. In the void which the resultant scepticism creates the Transcendent Word may at last take its place.

But Barth, as we noted, has a second voice: the anti-humanist tone can be mitigated. " Our thoughts, our words ", he now tells us, " can have only a *secondary* sense; in so far as they are a movement on the part of the creature they cannot coincide absolutely with the Truth of God, by whom all things exist in the world."[24] Who indeed would presume to say otherwise? In itself this statement is the merest truism. As creatures we are feeble, our intelligence is of limited scope and penetration; and, deeply convinced though we may be of the truth of our dogma and the soundness of our theological reasoning, we are bound to recognize that these forms not only have their human aspect but are in fact products of the human mind. They cannot be equated with the full truth of God's reality. Certainly we believe that the objective content of theology is *revelation*: something which, divinely imparted, is itself divine, and as such must remain the ultimate criterion of all our thinking. Yet the human element is still present, and inevitably so; the problem which it raises is not to be avoided merely by saying that there can be no final answer to the question of what is the *true* language of theology save " in prayer and the life of faith ". Our faith, and therefore our prayer, are but the reflection of what we are ourselves; they are imperfect because we are imperfect. Even grace cannot obliterate our natural weaknesses and limitations, nor does it guarantee immunity from error. It is a mistake to suppose that we are faced with the simple alternative of finding our norms and standards either in God or elsewhere than in God. The real issue is to discover how far, *in and through our humanity itself*, we his creatures can become receptive of and responsive to his action. If it really be true that our humanity is an alien quantity, a form of being whose very essence is a contradiction of the divine, then the only possible conclusion is that we can do nothing. In which case of what worth are we but to be cast out and trodden underfoot? We must beware lest by denying man's way to God we thereby also close God's way to man.

We contend, therefore, that Barth's thesis, that theology must begin not with man or any merely human conception of God or of revelation but with God himself and with the revelation given to us in the Scriptures, is self-contradictory. Karl Barth, as much as any other Christian thinker, is unable to avoid the " inversion " which he holds to be the temptation of every theology. He believes it to be possible for the theologian to take as his point of departure revelation *per se*, so to speak. But on examination anything of the kind turns out to be unthinkable. The very notion of a purely *objective* revelation, or of a God who is wholly " other ", implies certain theological and philosophical presuppositions which are themselves nothing else than an expression of a determinate point of view. Man cannot project his mind, as it were, outside of himself, or adopt an angle of vision which is other than human. He cannot eliminate those factors which after all serve to make him precisely who and what he is. Barth's idea is a false trail, to be abandoned before the theologian is misled into further contradictions and confusions. What, rather, we have to do is to discover *within* the conditions of our experience the presence and operation of a Reality which infinitely transcends all that we are or can be, but which is yet the most *intimate* fact of which we have knowledge. The mere antithesis of transcendence and immanence, difficult though it is for any theology to hold them in equipoise, is a profound misjudgement. Should we fall into it, our whole theology must needs be vitiated.

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[1] See *Die kirchliche Dogmatik,* I Bd. 2 Teil (4 Aufl., 1948), p. 8. The foregoing quotations are taken mainly from *Das Wort Gottes und die Theologie* (English trans., *The Word of God and the Word of Man,* 1935). See also the apprendix to *Credo* (1935).

[2] " There is nothing for our will except a basic recreation. Not a reformation but a recreation and re-growth " (*The Word of God and the Word of Man,* p. 24).

[3] Awful in truth was the God of the Old Testament—jealous, vengeful, a terror to his enemies; a God also who would hide his face, yet whom actually to see might have dire consequences (cf. Judges vi., 22 f.). But the very anthropomorphism of early Hebrew belief brought Yahweh near to his people.

[4] *The Word of God and the Word of Man,* p. 289.

[5] *Op cit.,* p. 299 (italics ours).

[6] *ibid,* p. 300.

[7] Eccles. v. 2.

[8] *Die kirchliche Dogmatik,* I Bd. 2 Teil, p. 4.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 5 (*" für die Tatsache der Offenbarung Gottes notwendig vollständig blind . . . ."*).

[10] p. 6.

[11] p. 7.

[12] p. 957.

[13] p. 515

[14] *Credo,* p. 159.

[15] And by divine revelation Barth means, as we have seen, the Bible and the Bible alone. Any other " revelation " is no more than an imposture and a deception, a feeble device by means of which man in his inveterate impiety hopes somehow to raise himself to God.

[16] *Die kirchl. Dogm.,* I. 2, p. 839.

[17] *Ibid.,* p. 134.

[18] Cf. *ibid.,* p. 144 f.

[19] p. 816.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] p. 817.

[22] p. 823.

[23] p. 65.

[24] *Credo,* p. 160.

Christian Missions and Other Religions

By D. W. GUNDRY

THE Hulsean Lectures for 1949, entitled *The Christian Attitude Towards Other Religions**, recently published, are clearly the result of wide reading, reflection on long experience, and lengthy preparation. Dr. E. C. Dewick has spent nearly thirty years in India and Ceylon, and as a result of his contacts with non-Christians there has an expert knowledge of missionary work. His lectures are well-documented; and he has added a fairly extensive bibliography. His style is lucid, and he supports what he has to say with an abundance of illustrative quotation.

Dr. Dewick's first lecture, "The Challenge from other Religions", notes that many political philosophies, notably Communism, Fascism, Nationalism, Imperialism, even Scientific Humanism and "Democratic Faith", are rivals to Christianity. But there are other potent rivals still in the great non-Christian religions, some eastern, some western. Many of these religions, encouraged by experiments in political co-operation and by scientific "relativism", now suggest their superiority to Christianity by advocating some kind of world religious amalgam, in which they would be the fundamental constituent. The Christian prospect is further darkened by the wane of foreign missions. Quoting Dr. Max Warren, the author reminds us that we can no longer speak of "the triumphant progress of the Gospel": rather is the Church operating a "resistance movement" in enemy-occupied territory. Moreover, the sheer weight of statistics is overwhelming. The yearly increase in the population of the world is one that Christian missions cannot keep pace with. Christians must, therefore, "consider whether the missionary methods at present employed are really the best that be within her (the Church's) power."

The answer of the Church itself to this question must be heard from the statements of its many different missionary enterprises; and these Dr. Dewick summarizes in his second lecture.

Christian attitudes towards the contemporary political quasi-religions are various, ranging from complete antagonism, as in the

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Roman Church, to the kind of Christian recognition of Communism epitomized by Professor John MacMurray, when he says: "I cannot help feeling that Communism has recovered that essential core of a real belief in God, which organized Christianity has in our day largely lost." As Dr. Dewick points out, however, in this latter statement "Communism is really submitted to the test of Christ, rather than Christ to the test of Communism." Perhaps the most disturbing feature of modern institutional Christianity is its readiness to come to terms with or its positive support of this or that politico-economic system. Some Churches, e.g., the Confessional and Reformed in Nazi territories, were notable exceptions. Again, it cannot be assumed too easily that the moral and spiritual level of the average Christian compels the outsider to acknowledge the superiority of his creed.

Dr. Dewick goes on to treat more fully of the prevailing Christian attitudes to the great non-Christian religions. These he analyses into two main types, "answers of refusal" and "answers of co-operation". Some of the refusals amount, in effect, to a declaration of war on non-Christian faiths. This was not simply the view of the older pioneer missionaries, but is advocated widely to-day by not a few leading theologians: it has been aptly described by Dr. W. E. Hocking as "the policy of radical displacement". Less militant are the "answers of aloofness" or "discontinuity", the leading exponent of which is Dr. Hendrik Kraemer, notably in his *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* (1938), a book which caused much stir in Christian missionary circles.

Others regard it as the task of missions to show "that Christianity 'comprehends' and 'fulfils' all the partial truths that are to be found in other religions, while at the same time purging them from their errors, and supplementing them with truths and values that they do not in themselves possess. In them we see 'broken lights'; n Christianity, the full radiance of God's glory." This attitude has a strong appeal, and has the approval of very many reputable Christian leaders and thinkers, particularly those who have been nfluenced by liberal theology. It was the view set forth by Dr. J. N. Farquhar in his famous book, *The Crown of Hinduism*. It was also advocated by Dr. N. Macnicol, Bishop A. J. Appasamy, Baron von Hügel, and some of the contributors to *Essays Catholic and Missionary*. But, in fact, Dr. Dewick points out, such a standpoint has met with rigorous criticism of late: "The theory of fulfilment tends to ignore the fundamental differences of spirit and 'ethics that distinguish the great non-Christian religions . . . To look fo the 'fulfilment' of Buddhism or Islam in Christianity is as unscientific as to look for the 'fulfilment' of a rose-bud in the full-blown flower of an orchid."

Dr. Dewick suggests that the right attitude for the future should be one not of patronage but of co-operation. So far this has met with scant approval; but, as Dr. W. E. Hocking, the well-known United States philosopher, says, "our present Christianity does no include all that other religions have." The implication is tha Christianity "needs the contributions which other religions can give." Probably the most famous modern missionary to advocate this view is Schweitzer himself; and it underlies the importan volume, *Rethinking Missions*, published in 1932, as well as the World Congress of Faiths. But vested interest dies hard: it i clear that the official leaders of the Church and the post-war reactionary theologians are adverse to any such policy. Yet it may still prove the right way.

Fundamental to Christian missionary theory are the specia claims made for the person of Christ and his teaching. Dr. Dewick therefore, devotes the central part of his book—lectures III and IV —to a review of this subject. It is here that the book is weakest partly because limited space is available, partly because some o the important recent studies of the origins of Christianity are no considered, and partly because there is nothing very striking i what Dr. Dewick has to say. These two chapters, like the rest o the book, are heavily burdened with quotations and footnotes.

Dr. Dewick surveys the development of Hebrew tradition an its contacts with other religions in the usual text-book fashion concluding, in regard to our Lord's background, that "there can b little doubt that the education he received at home and in th synagogue-school at Nazareth was broadly based on the fundamental principles of the Old Testament and the Hebrew tradition strongly tinged with the prevalent Jewish nationalism." He then goes on to discuss Christ's teaching, particularly his attitud towards Judaism and other religions, and concludes with th universalism of Christ. In chapter IV Dr. Dewick traces, very sketchily, the growth of the Christian Church and its missionary spirit. The latter part of this chapter, however, in some measur makes up for the thinness of what has gone before, in that the author begins—but only begins—to grapple with the theological and philosophical problems involved in the peculiar claims of Christianity. Historical treatment of vital matters is rarely satisfactory, unless on the lines of some dubious philosophy of history. After illustrating at length a number of classic instances, Roman and Protestant, of hostility towards other religions, Dr. Dewick returns approvingly to those liberal writers, ancient and modern, who have seen in Christ the fulfilment of all truth. He then further amplifies his plea for inter-religious co-operation, a theme which, Dr. Dewick alleges, had "no accredited teacher before the nineteenth century." He mentions the fifteenth-century Cardinal Nicolas of Cusa as an exception, as well as Lord Herbert of Cherbury, whose *De Veritate* (1624) and *De Religione* (1663) were pioneer works in setting Europeans thinking in terms of a world-religion. With Dr. Dewick's monistic faith, which shows the strong influence of nineteenth-century philosophical idealism, many readers will have much sympathy; but it is only too evident that he has not really come to grips with the specific theological assertions about the revelation of Christ made by traditional theology. One would feel much happier about this book if this had been done.

Lecture V begins by asserting that "in the past the Church's attitude to other religions has generally been determined more by the needs or impulses of the moment than by fundamental principles." The fact was that the Church had to fight in order to grow. Now the time has come for the Church to consider fundamental principles, the principles taught by Christ: faith in a living, personal God; faith in a God who is righteous and loving; the unity of mankind; the value of the individual; the method of dealing with men by love; the ultimate triumph of good over evil. Dr. Dewick's liberal theological position is by now quite evident. Pre-liberal theology was evidently much at fault; and presumably post-liberal movements after Harnack have been for the worse. He attempts to categorize the claims of many theologians for some kind of finality for the Christian revelation. He agrees that "it is only in Jesus Christ, interpreted by Christian faith, that we gain a clear vision of love, self-sacrificing and ultimately victorious, at the very heart of the universe, and belonging to the very essence of God;" but beyond this rather idealist statement he is not prepared to go. He proceeds to plead for tolerance rightly enough and then for impartiality; but while he exposes the problem h hardly supplies the answer. "That religious truth is ultimatel one, and capable of being seen as a unity by the human mind," i a dubious statement, unless one is determined to make the grea religions all fit some preconceived scheme of what all religion should be. The plain fact is that on many fundamental matters all religions are certainly not at one. Dr. Dewick's outlook seems t be that of a kind of Neo-Hegelianism tinged with Christianity; an if this is what Christianity should now be then he should hav castigated orthodox Christianity more strongly than he has done

The last lecture discusses possible reform in missionary polic and practice. The reader is reminded of the weaknesses of present-day missions, as of the folly of bygone generations in opposin missionary ventures; but Dr. Dewick leaves us in no doubt tha missions must continue, because the Christian law of love demands it. His summary of the faults in the attitude of many missionary minded people makes painful but unavoidable reading. On the more constructive side he pleads, *inter alia,* for more adaptation of Christianity to local conditions. There is obviously something absurd, for example, in the fact that so many missionary societies have transplanted their European ecclesiastical organization, liturgy, articles of faith, and even their music and art, into Africa and the East. He pleads, too, for "inter-religious co-operation" in social service, in worship and search for the truth. It may be, Dr. Dewick concludes, "that God has other plans than those of conventional Christianity," to create the Kingdom through the "failure" of missions as we conceive them. The most important thing of all is the spirit, the attitude of mind, of the Christian himself. He quotes Schweitzer with hearty approval: "Our conviction is that it (the Kingdom of God) can only come into existence by the power of the spirit of Jesus working in our hearts and in the world."

With Dr. Dewick's idealism few can disagree, apart from the very dogmatic. But there are several difficulties with which his book presents us. One is that individual idealism, however potent, is unlikely to be able to keep apace with the highly organized anti-Christian forces at work in the world. Some kind of well-organized institution with a discipline is, for human beings, a necessity; and this inevitably brings with it a certain degree of intolerance. In other words, there are limits to the "live and let live" policy in religion as in all other branches of human activity. This is not because the Christian Church claims to be possessor of the final truth, but because it must safeguard such glimpses as it has for the sake of mankind as a whole. How efficiency and charity can be combined is a perennial problem in all departments of life; and, though, in effect, Dr. Dewick poses the problem, even his two-hundred pages can provide no solution.

Another problem raised by the book is its too ready assumption that Christianity and other religions can be reconciled to a great extent, because of certain fundamental agreements. They are all searching for the truth, it is argued; and all possess much that is noble. This would seem to be so; but there is very little discussion or exposition in the book of the fundamental philosophical divergences between Christianity and other religions. It is easy to note tolerance and idealism in such systems as Hinduism and Buddhism; but, unless one is prepared to cast away the distinctive doctrines of Christianity and regard Christ as a Western *arhat,* there can only remain a fundamental divergence between Christianity with its monotheistic revelation and the absolutist philosophies of the East. If Christianity is at rock bottom only monism expressed in rather outmoded concrete Judaeo-Christian terminology, we had better say so.

In other words, Dr. Dewick's Hulsean Lectures barely grapple with the philosophical and theological problems which his subject raises. But this is not to underrate the value of his book. In all fairness, one could hardly expect him to give these questions exhaustive treatment in the space available. His book is, however, extremely valuable just because of its accurate and clear presentation of these problems. They are perhaps pin-pointed most clearly in the mission-field; but, in a world where physical communications and the exchange of ideas are easier than ever before, they are present to us at home as well. The difficulties which arise in missionary theory and practice only reflect the problems which confront Christianity assailed, as it is to-day, by a host of competitors without and of doubts within.

If any complacent Christian is willing to reconsider in all honesty the claims of his religion upon himself and upon the world at large Dr. Dewick's book will make him think deeply, even if it does no more; and this will be worth-while enough.

Experiments in Prayer-Book Revision

By E. R. HARDY

WHEN the present (third) American Prayer-book was adopted in 1928 the Revision Commission continued as an Editorial Committee to oversee the production of the book and correct some incidental mistakes in its editing. Having thus become a permanent body it was shortly reconstituted as the Standing Liturgical Commission, which has now become part of the canonical structure of the American Church. It consists of nine members, including at least two bishops, two presbyters, and two laymen, together with the Custodian of the Book of Common Prayer, whose duties are to keep the Standard Book and to proof-read and authenticate new editions. The make-up of the Commission recognizes that liturgical interest, at least in details of liturgics, is most commonly to be found in the second Order of the Ministry, but that it is well to have episcopal responsibility on the one hand and the lay mind on the other represented in any committee dealing with the matter. The functions of the Commission are to advise on liturgical uses on request, to prepare Offices for special occasions when authorized or directed by the General Convention or the House of Bishops, to make recommendations on the Lectionary and the use of the Psalter, and to collect material bearing on future Prayer-book revisions. It has issued a Book of Offices for those who wish to lay a corner stone or bless an organ in an official manner, and drafted the Lectionary and arrangement of the Psalter which were adopted in 1943—on the whole satisfactory, and certainly superior to the rather hasty work which was done on this part of the Prayer-book in 1928.

During the 1940's there came from some quarters a vigorous demand for further revision of the Prayer-book, and from others an equally strong opposition to the idea. I must admit considerable sympathy with the latter position; the Prayer-book is for the American Church not only a directory of worship but a standard of doctrine, and it might seem well to preserve the "givenness" of the Liturgy by postponing further tinkering with our inheritance, at least until a generation has grown up which knows only the present book. However, numerous suggestions continued to be made, formally or informally, and in 1949 the Liturgical Commission was authorized to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the First Prayer-book by issuing its own ideas for discussion in a series of *Prayer-book Studies.** Five of these have now appeared—*Baptism and Confirmation* and *The Liturgical Lectionary* (of Epistles and Gospels) in 1950, *The Order for the Ministration to the Sick* in 1951, *The Liturgy* properly so called, and *The Litany* in 1953. Each of these includes a draft revision, and leads up to it by an historical introduction and a commentary on the proposals. Other *Studies* are understood to be in preparation, in particular on the Daily Offices and the Calendar of Saints. All except the last carry a preface—and I do not presume that its omission there is significant —stating that there is a " widespread and insistent demand " for a general Prayer-book revision, but that the Commission does not propose one immediately; with the *Studies* it hopes, however, to inaugurate the " period of study and discussion " which should facilitate a revision when the Church decides to undertake it.

Until the appearance of the fourth *Study* the series did not receive the general attention which the reference to a " widespread and insistent demand " might have led one to expect. However, the Holy Communion is of such importance for us all, and the details of its celebration of such interest to many, especially among the clergy, that the draft *Liturgy* did attract wide interest. Celebrations according to it have been held at clergy conferences, and in at least one conspicuous parish church (Trinity, New York). In response to a number of requests the House of Bishops at their meeting at Williamsburg last November declared their opinion that the proposed forms might be used, on particular occasions, with episcopal permission, but should not be used " at times of regular public worship," or, in so far as they are substitutes for forms now in the Prayer-book, authorized for continued use. To meet a demand which the Commission at first refused, the proposed Eucharistic Liturgy has been reprinted in pamphlet form from the *Study,* which is a volume of 343 pages (*Church Pension Fund,* New York, $1.50). We thus seem to be embarked on a period of more or less cautious liturgical experimentation.

II

In each of these studies there are suggestions of considerable value. The second *Study* does not propose to change basically the ancient system we have inherited, but suggests a number of changes within its framework which would meet many of the practical problems felt by both celebrants and worshippers—an example is John xii: 23-32 instead of the present Gospel for Passion Sunday, which retains the idea of a proclamation of the inner meaning of the Passion on this day, but substitutes another and clearer Johannine passage for one which had implications in ancient times that the modern worshipper, and even the modern priest, is not usually aware of.

The order for Christian Initiation in the first *Study* takes reasonable account of both historical study and pastoral considerations, and meets many of the difficulties felt with both the 1662 service or the 1928 (English or American, which are fairly similar). In its " Preparation " an exhortation which includes the Catechism statement of what baptism does is followed by one prayer " Almighty and immortal God . . . " and the Gospel from Mark x or Matthew xxviii; promises are identical for adults or children—renunciation of evil, the Creed in a shortened form (the American Prayer-book since 1789 has had it only by reference), desire for baptism and obedience—followed at baptism of children by promises asked of both parents and sponsors. The Blessing of the Font follows in Preface form, followed by Baptism, Signing, and Thanksgiving, with an optional prayer for the parents. Some changes in phrasing seem rather to weaken than strengthen the service, but the general treatment is good. Confirmation is even more clearly integrated with baptism than now. If an adult is to be confirmed immediately after his baptism the bishop will confirm him directly after the signing, beginning with the versicle, " Our help is in the Name of the Lord ". Usually, however, there will be a presentation of candidates, the bishop asking the minister, " Have you examined them, and found them ready and desirous to be confirmed?" The vows are renewed as taken in baptism, thus avoiding the confusing use of the word " confirm " at that point; it is used instead to start the formula prescribed at the imposition of hands—" Confirm, O Lord, this thy Child . . . .". A kind of Little Office is provided as an optional Introduction—Sentence (Acts ii: 8), Psalm (11 verses of Ps. xxvii), Chapter (Ezekiel xxxvi: 25-28, " I will put my Spirit within you "), Creed, and Collect (for the gift of the Spirit, the American Collect for Whitsun Tuesday). This may well be found useful in place of the scrappy devotions which are so commonly prefixed to the Order of the Confirmation when it is separated from any other liturgical rite.

The third *Study* is not as successful as the first two, and the fifth makes less of a new contribution; it follows the lines of the 1929 Scottish and current proposed Indian Prayer-books in separating the Supplication from the Great Litany, and in providing a short "Litany of St. Chrysostom" in the Greek form—making indeed the interesting claim to have recovered and found valuable for present use the petitions of the fifth-century Byzantine Liturgy. In *Study* III the "Order for the Ministration to the Sick" carries out some of the suggestions advanced by Charles Harris in *Liturgy and Worship*. It accepts far too unreservedly the position that the Church's aim in visiting the sick is to assist their physical recovery, almost implying that if this is not secured either faith has failed or a hostile power has prevailed. It offers a form intended both for visits and for the "Services of Healing" which have acquired a certain popularity among us—Confession, a Little Office of Psalm, Lesson, Prayer (seven alternatives), "Litany of Healing", and solemn blessing with Unction or Imposition of Hands. The prayers are mostly new and somewhat propagandist; there are certainly some good ideas, though the best ones are not new — the group of Psalms and Lessons, for instance, are scarcely as good as the little-known series to be found in the *Rituale Romanum,* to which Harris called attention. The proposals are certainly suggestive, but neither from the liturgical or the pastoral point of view are they very satisfactory as they stand.

III

It has been, as noted, the fourth *Study,* on the Eucharistic Liturgy, which has attracted most general attention. Its historical introduction is an admirable history of the Anglican rites and their sources; the proposals have been worked out with great care both as to the general pattern of the Liturgy and its details. Serious consideration has been given to proposals from all sides — and not excessively, I think, in the spirit suggested by the statement in the Preface that "We can seek to counterbalance every proposal which might seem to favor some one party of opinion by some other change in the opposite direction".

Considering the proposed "Liturgy for the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist and the Administration of Holy Communion" as a possible rite, I shall concentrate on its general shape; clergy in discussing it have been a little prone to bog down in details of wording and rubrics. To begin with the main Eucharistic action, each of its four parts is somewhat clarified. The Offertory stands out clearly as such, with the Intercession and Communion Devotions as part of it. The introduction praises the revival of the Offertory Procession though the actual rubrics seem to exclude it (the priest first prepares the Bread and Wine, then receives the Alms, and then offers the Elements). The Prayer for the Church includes proper mention of the Saints and Faithful Departed; it may, however, be replaced by a Litany or Bidding Prayer, or shortened to its first and last clauses, leaving a kind of *Te igitur* prayer, on ordinary weekdays or if a Litany has preceded at the same service. With some hesitation, the Communion Devotions are left where they are, but abridged by a cautious shortening of the General Confession and a permission to omit the Comfortable Words except at the principal celebration on Sundays. The Prayer of Consecration follows the present Scottish-American order, but is revised with the intention of avoiding duplications; as the central instance of the workmanship of the Commission, it is given in full at the end of this article. My own impression is that most American Churchmen would really prefer their present eighteenth-century form. Some have seen in the proposed form an attack on the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice, which does not seem to me quite justified. It would, however, oblige us, in a way that our present vaguer form does not, to concentrate on the Invocation as the moment of consecration — while using Cranmer's disingenuous rendering of *ut fiat nobis,* " that they may be unto us "; any modern revival of that phrase should at least go back to the original sense, something like " that it [they] may for us become ". I have some doubts as to whether it is proper to speak of " all [the] whole Church " as receiving Holy Communion, but that is a minor matter.

In this proposed Liturgy " The Consecration " is marked as proceeding from *Sursum corda* to Lord's Prayer, and " The Holy Communion " as beginning with the Fraction, followed by *Pax domini* and *Benedictus qui venit*—I suspect the introduction of that form in this position is one of the efforts to " counterbalance ". The Prayer of Humble Access may be, and the Prayer of Thanksgiving must be said by all; variable Post-communions are excluded, although the Introduction notes that there would be place for a kind of "Prayer Over the People" at this point.

In what we have learned to call the "Synaxis" there are few changes—Creed and *Gloria* are optional on ordinary week-days, and the latter is restored to its position after the *Kyrie* (English or Greek). I believe this is the only official Anglican proposal to return the *Gloria* where it started, except for the current Japanese one; also as in the Japanese proposals, the Ten Commandments are removed into a separate Office of Preparation, though the use of this is only suggested. The section of Preparation is rather scrappy, no less so because it is not marked off as such but treated as part of the "Ministry of the Word"—the Collect for Purity and what is rather sentimentally called "The Law of Love" are normally prescribed, but may be omitted if a Litany has preceded—or amplified by the Commandments after all, a usage which is suggested for the Sundays in Lent.

IV

The learned members of the Liturgical Commission have obviously put in much hard work on the details of their *Studies* and the proposals included; certainly if we are to revise our Prayer-book many of their suggestions will commend themselves. Their detailed work has at times the defects of its qualities—a certain fussy and fidgety character which is likely to come from attention to a number of small details. The *Liturgy*, for instance, as I have heard pointed out, is rubricated to an almost annoying extent—not enough to provide a full directory of ceremonial, but enough to suggest that an anxious guide is constantly telling priest or people to sit, to stand, to kneel, to turn around, and so on. In the changes in phraseology there are some suggestions of the tendency to avoid anything harsh or startling which has marked much of our American liturgical revision. The Commission happily resisted many pressures, such as that of the tender souls who hesitate to mention the Precious Blood by which we were redeemed, but have yielded to some others. A curious case is the omission of "from thy wrath, and from everlasting damnation" in the Litany, on the ground that the latter is "a medieval idea which to few people nowadays has any semantic reality at all" (*Study* V, p. 32)! Nor is it really quite enough at baptism to say "Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth; And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord; And in the Holy Ghost?"—at least this might suggest to some that the laity will no longer be required to acknowledge the human birth of Christ or, for instance. the forgiveness of sins.

My final comment is not so much on these *Studies* in particular as on the whole process of which they are part; in what spirit should we venture to engage in liturgical revision? The possibility of making a number of desirable incidental improvements in the services is not enough; there must be some weighty motive which will carry us back to first principles of worship, and by implication also of theology. The sixteenth century wanted to make the service more individual, and its objective elements more intelligible; the Nonjurors and nineteenth-century revisers wanted to recover some of the magnificence that Cranmer had lost, and also to meet the needs of the worshipper more directly. The principles of the American revision of 1892 were three—recovery of lost treasures, recognition of modern needs and interests, and greater flexibility in the law of worship—these were carried out more thoroughly in our 1928 Book, and seem to be the principles behind the various revisions of the 1920's. We would now be more anxious to recover the truly corporate nature of our worship—Cranmer emphasized that each man must receive Holy Communion for himself, and we are more likely to stress that no man can receive Holy Communion by himself. Cranmer aimed to bring the Word of God to the Tudor citizen and villager, and some of the items that, frankly, bore most of us now were truly impressive then—imagine, for instance, after centuries of muttered Latin absolutions hearing the very promises of Jesus from the altar, " Hear what encouraging words our Saviour Christ . . ." Our aim to-day is to make union in the Eucharistic act, and in the other acts of worship that lead up to and flow from it, possible in the modern slum, the modern suburb, the modern university town. Always guarding essentials, perhaps we should be more radical than official revisers are likely to contemplate being. Perhaps, for instance, we should base our Liturgy on Justin Martyr rather than on the Use of Sarum, and instead of discussing the position of the General Confession consider whether such a penitential exercise belongs in the common Thanksgiving of the Redeemed Family of God at all. I can see richer and more exciting possibilities than any Commission as such is likely to consider. So I doubt if there is really any great value in the kind of revision which these *Studies* exemplify; but we should be immensely grateful to their authors for the possibilities that their work sets before us.

APPENDIX

The Prayer of Consecration

¶ *Then the Priest, standing before the Altar, shall say*

The Thanksgiving

All glory be to thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that thou, of thy tender mercy, didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to take our nature upon him, and to suffer death upon the Cross, for our redemption; who made there, by his one oblation of himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death and sacrifice, until his coming again.

The Institution

(a) *Here the Priest is to take the Bread into his hands*

(b) *Here he is to take the Cup into his hands*

For in the night in which he was betrayed, (a) he took Bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat: This is my Body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me.

Likewise, after supper, (b) he took the Cup; and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this: for this is my Blood of the New Covenant, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins. Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.

The Oblation

Wherefore, having in remembrance his blessed Passion and precious Death, his mighty Resurrection and glorious Ascension, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts which we now offer unto thee, the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make.

The Invocation

And we most humbly beseech thee to accept upon thine altar on high this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, our bounden duty and service; and vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with thy Holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the most blessed Body and Blood of thy dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ.

The Supplication.

And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, our selves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto thee; humbly beseeching thee, that we, and all thy whole Church, may worthily receive the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son, that we may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his Passion, be filled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with him, that he may dwell in us and we in him:

Through the same Jesus Christ our Lord; By whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end.

¶ *And all the People shall answer,* Amen.

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* *Prayer Book Studies.* The Standing Liturgical Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. The Church Pension Fund, New York.

I Baptism and Confirmation. 1950, x-107 pp.
II The Liturgical Lectionary. 1950, x-107 pp.
III The Order for the Ministration to the Sick. 1951, viii-39 pp.
IV The Liturgy. 1953, xii-343 pp.
V The Litany. 1953, vi-49 pp.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE C.S.U.

Sir,—In the very interesting article about Bishop Gore (No. 314, Vol. CLV. p. 27) the writer suggests that Canon Scott Holland probably founded the Christian Social Union. I doubt it.

Dr. Dearmer wrote some articles in the *Commonwealth* about the early days of the C.S.U., and in them states that it began as a result of a conversation in Canon Holland's house, only a few men being present. He said that he himself (Dearmer) was appointed hon. sec., and laughed at himself for so careless a beginning of his duties that there are no extant minutes of that meeting. And he told us no more.

When next I met Dearmer I said that " clearly " the inspiration was his; he was our real founder, and not Westcott, Gore, Scott Holland, or John Carter (all of whom have had the credit). P.D. chaffed me. He did not deny, but would not accept. (When did P.D. ever accept any " praise " or " position " ?). All he would say was " That's very interesting ", " So *you* know all ? ", and so forth. But from that day I have always held, as I assured him I would, that he had originated the whole thing.

This deals, of course, with the original group—a very small one which became the London branch later on, when the C.S.U. formed itself into a fully constituted society. I do not think Canon Gore came into it at all until it was so constituted, but possibly the Oxford branch (hon. sec. the Rev. John Carter, Librarian of Pusey House) may have come to birth before the formalities, and Gore may have joined it. He and Mr. Carter were working together in those days, though harmony between them soon ended.

This note is only in the interests of historical truth. Whoever founded and nurtured the C.S.U. did a most outstanding piece of solid work for the Church—work which still bears fruit, though we shut ourselves down in 1918, as having ended our task. Gore was certainly an outstanding president, even his name and fame helped us.

E. J. Heaton.

Haywards Heath, Sussex.

FELLOWSHIP IN THE CHURCH

Sir,—You will perhaps think that it is an impertinence for one who has been overseas for nearly twenty-five years to criticize the Church at home. I am only emboldened to do so because it is sometimes true that the occasional visitor notices things which those nearer the problems appear to miss.

Your recent editorial, " Fishers of Men ", reminded me of some of the experiences which I have had while on leave, and the casual conversations on religion with all sorts and conditions of men and women. It is true that I spend most of my time at home in the villages of the south and west, and it may be that the things which I have heard and seen are not typical of the whole country. Certainly I hope not, but in view of your editorial they may be worth repeating.

I was distressed to find how few of the clergy had any living sense of fellowship one with another unless they held the same party views which some of them appeared to believe they were ordained to preach. I found men who ran their churches with little regard to the basic discipline of the Anglican Church or the traditions of their people. I visited a monastery in which the services were to the outsider entirely unintelligible and I suspect also to the old seamen for whom the brethren ran a Home. These services had no resemblance at all to anything in the Prayer-book.

I noticed, too, that parochial visiting appears to be out of fashion. I met a small shopkeeper in a Devonshire village who told me that his vicar, who had been there seven years, had never spoken to him and was unknown to the village. He was understood to hold that if people wanted him they would find him in the vestry or the vicarage.

I heard of others who interfered as from " on high " in village affairs, an attitude which always infuriates the Englishman. I was present at the great day of a Cornish village from which the vicar had held aloof for several years because he had disapproved of something in it. It seemed to me a very harmless if childish celebration, and that he had been missing a ready-made opportunity for knowing and perhaps winning the people. An old lady, the head of the local Mothers' Union, told me with indignant amusement that she had been reproved by her vicar for interfering with his " priestly functions " by reading from the Bible and praying with her sick members. She was a clergyman's widow and dealt faithfully with him.

These incidents, and other like them, are no doubt extreme and tragic exceptions, but they are the things which ordinary men and women hear about, and hearing feel that the Church has no relevance to their lives. They are strengthened in their view when they notice that few in authority, I might almost say none, have the apparent interest, or the power, or perhaps the time, to advise and help such men, much less to reprove and control.

It was also, thank God, my fortune to find here and there a church which was obviously alive and the vicar in the old sense the parson. Such churches were not served by extraordinary men, but those who were just simple and good, shepherds before priests. They were the same type as my late bishop, who was an exceptionally poor preacher but when he preached to the educated and somewhat cynical congregation which I have the privilege to serve they would say afterwards, " I haven't the least idea what the old man was talking about but it is good to listen to a saint ". I wish I could say that I had met more such men at home.

All this has given me an uncomfortable feeling that the Church at home is not in a position to evangelize England. We have so little obvious results of our faith in ourselves to offer others. Men turn to such societies as the Masonic Order and the trades unions because in them they find an active practical fellowship and opportunities for what they think, and often are, " good works " with much less disagreement and argument than they find in the Church.

I live in a country largely pagan, and serve a Church which, in spite of faults, which are often reminiscent of St. Paul's Epistles, has developed some real sense of fellowship in Christ with one another and with other Christians who do not hold the same Church views but with whom we can work because we find ourselves brethren in Christ. We can show in some small way in pagan and Moslem villages a life that is different because we are Christians, and a fellowship which is real. If we could not do this we should die. The Church in England might die if we continue in our present ways. The goods of Christ must be delivered if she is to survive.

These experiences, and the sense that they are in a lesser degree symptomatic of the attitude of many Churchmen, lay as well as clerical, persuade me that before the Church at home can start " missionizing " effectively she must first begin with herself. Somehow the Spirit of God must be allowed to break through our complicated organization, our isolationism, our obstinate conviction of rightness about things which are of very secondary importance, and bring life and fellowship to a Church which has a unique opportunity to show Christ to the world.

Again I hope that you will forgive my impertinence, for I write with sincerity and no little alarm.

R. A. Wright.

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REVIEWS

A REVELATION OF A GREAT EPOCH

The Thirteenth Century. By Sir Maurice Powicke. O.U.P. 30s

When Sir Maurice Powicke became an historian a great novelist was lost to the world of literature. His two last books, *Henry III and the Lord Edward* and *The Thirteenth Century,* have the epic quality of Tolstoy's *War and Peace.* Their theme is the growth in self-consciousness and cohesion of a national community during one of the most formative periods of its history, and the way in which the conflict of Henry III's reign and its aftermath contributed to the sense of co-operation and solidarity. In both books full weight is given to the contribution of political ideas, personal prejudices and factors, and the divided loyalties of moderate men, when a bloodless revolution re-establishing the traditional relation between king and magnates degenerated into civil war, to the course of the struggle. In the end the common sense and good will of practical men enabled a solution to be reached by which much of the fruit of the reform movement was preserved, and the monarchy once more resumed the leadership of the community. In the second book the constitutional crisis serves as an introduction to this new period, and its chief importance lies in its part in the political education of the young Lord Edward, whose reign is the main theme. Sir Maurice's affection and admiration for his hero makes his portrait sympathetic and convincing. The young prince with a passion for field sports and tournaments, fiery, ambitious, but idealistic, after falling for a brief period under the spell of the " heady " ideology of his brilliant uncle, Simon de Montfort, soon returned to his family loyalties, and assumed the leadership of the royalists. His contribution to the work of peace and reconciliation after Evesham made both his Crusade and peaceful accession, although absent from the country, possible. As in the earlier book, England's membership of the great medieval Commonwealth, and the connection with Gascony and the dynastic ties which bound Henry III, and his sons to the reigning houses of France, Sicily, Savoy and Castille are emphasized. Edward, like his father, was as much at home in Aquitaine and at Paris as he was in England, and his strong sense of family and feudal obligations, as well as his fame as a Crusader and the probable leader of the new Crusade, which was the dominating idea of Western politics in the latter part of the thirteenth century, made him one of the most influential personalities in European politics. Sir Maurice looks at the intricate and complex relationships of the different courts from Edward's angle and no one, however insignificant, is merely a lay figure. For instance, he describes the first marriage of Blanche of Champagne, the widowed queen of Navarre who became the wife of Edmund of Lancaster, as follows: "The married life of Henry and Blanche was brief and tragic. Their baby son was accidentally tossed by his nurse over the battlements of the Navarrese castle of Estella. Henry himself died in 1274, leaving a daughter Jeanne of eighteen months." No event, or institution, is ever discussed except in connection with the people whose lives it affected.

Edward's relations with his subjects were determined by the same sense of responsibility, coupled with an equally strong conviction that not to maintain the royal rights and prerogative in every particular would be a breach of his coronation oath. His intelligence and practical ability as a soldier, a statesman, and even, as a builder of towns, his deep, but conventional piety and his essential humanity are all clearly demonstrated, and enterprises like the conquest of Wales and the attempted conquest of Scotland were undertaken with a sincere belief in the justice of his claims. The tragedy of the period after 1290, when the lonely and embittered king was faced on every side with difficulties, an unprovoked war with France, Scottish revolt and treason, a baronial opposition and growing national discontent is shown as it appeared to him. To a proud man the suspicion that he had no intention of keeping promises made in the crisis of 1297 must have been a unforgiveable insult, and he could neither understand nor appreciate the conscientious, but obstructionist, attitude of Archbishop Winchelsey. The final revolt of Bruce—the already pardoned rebel—added to his bitterness, and during a desperate illness he fought for his life in order to defeat him, arising from his bed of sickness in order to lead his army, only to die at Burgh on Sands. This Edward is a very different person from the stained-glass window figure of the Victorian historian, or the grim masterful old man whose pursuit of a hopeless war in the face of baronial opposition and broken down finances was the main cause of the troubles of his son's reign which has taken its place.

The portrait of the king is accompanied by a galaxy of minor ones, such as those of Burnell and other royal ministers, and of the leading churchmen. Memorable phrases are Pecham's "garrulous frankness" and Cantilupe's "well-mannered obstinacy." Even those who have made a special study of the problems of ecclesiastical administration have much to learn from the chapter on the relations between the Church and State. Naturally the interrelations between the different communities and their contribution to the national life is an important element in the book, and the accounts of the Estate of merchants and of the activities of the Italian financiers are particularly suggestive. Even Parliament and the great statutes, about which so much has been written, appear in a new perspective, as the instinctive and almost unconscious response of king and community to the growing sense of political solidarity and the needs and problems of their age. Walter Burley's discussion of Parliament in his slightly later commentary on

Aristotle's " Politics " shows its significance to intelligent contemporary opinion. In spite of his feeling for Edward the complicated story of English and Scottish relations in the thirteenth century, and the impact of a semi-feudal, semi-national state on Celtic societies, i.e. Ireland and Wales, are both described sympathetically by Sir Maurice. Edward's new towns and castles, the beginnings of the Admiralty, the changes in the composition of the army, the development of the money fief and the organisation of the English mint all have a few illuminating pages devoted to them. The interest of the story and the ease and grace of the narrative conceal the immense scholarship and learning which only appears in the footnotes and the bibliography, which is no mere list of books, but a survey of all the material available for the study of the period, from original documents and records to an article in the *Listener*. The greatest tribute to Sir Maurice's skill is that his reader is not left content with having the period interpreted for him even by a master of the subject, but is inspired with the desire to know even more by going to the sources himself. In a book mainly concerned with political and constitutional developments certain aspects of the national life have been omitted, such as the intellectual developments at the two universities, and the great architectural achievements, beginning with Lincoln Cathedral and ending with Westminster Abbey and Exeter, but these and kindred subjects would require another great book.

D. L. DOUIE.

ST. PETER

PETER, DISCIPLE-APOSTLE-MARTYR. By OSCAR CULLMANN. Translated by FLOYD V. FILSON. S.C.M. Press. 18s.

THE study of St. Peter has been curiously neglected by scholars, especially in this country. Much has been written on the First Epistle and perhaps too much on the Petrine passage of Mt. xvi, but little has been done to help the student of the primitive Church to form a balanced picture of the life of the chief apostle. The appearance in English of a full-length study by a Protestant scholar is thus of the first importance

This is not a work of controversy, but an objective piece of historical writing. The conclusions which it reaches about the papal claims are extremely damaging both on historical and on theological grounds; but they are presented in a spirit of fairness and charity which should help to realize the author's hope that his book may make a contribution to the ecumenical debate, even if only by clarifying points of difference The book deals first with St. Peter's relation to the rest of the Twelve in the days of Christ's earthly ministry. Here he is presented to us as the representative disciple, not the leader of the Twelve, but their spokesman and " representative in good as in bad action ". After the Resurrection his status and function are transformed, and he becomes the acknowledged leader of the Jerusalem Church, a position which is accounted for by the special commissioning by the Lord which is hinted at in the fragmentary evidence that he was the first to witness the risen Christ, the promises and commissioning recorded in Lk. xxii, 31f and Jn. xxi, and the fact that the name Cephas had been bestowed on him before the Crucifixion. Later he becomes pre-eminently a missionary, the leader of the Jewish Christian enterprise which was controlled by and dependent on Jerusalem. Here the author wisely bids us remember that St. Peter stands nearer to St. Paul in respect of his theological outlook than does any other person within the circle of the Twelve. It is as a universalist that he earns St. Paul's rebuke for " letting down the side " (the same side as St. Paul's) through his vacillation at Antioch. It is salutary to be reminded of the subconscious influence of the Tübingen school on our thinking about this subject.

The question whether St. Peter's missionary activity actually embraced Corinth is left with a *non liquet*. Little, in fact disappointingly little, attention is given to the problem of the First Epistle, though the conclusion is reached that, whether or not the letter is authentic, " Babylon " in all probability stands for Rome, and is evidence, albeit not decisive proof, of an early association of the apostle with Rome. The greater part of the book is occupied with an investigation of the evidence for St. Peter's stay in Rome and his martyrdom there. Clement of Rome is rightly judged to be a primary witness for the tradition, but the author's attempt to infer the circumstances of the martyrdom from Clement's allusions to " jealousy " is precarious. The evidence of later writers is fully discussed. Dr. Cullmann is inclined to interpret Gaius's allusion to the " trophies " of the Apostles at Rome as a reference to the sites of their execution, or memorials of it, rather than to actual graves. He bases this preference on the unlikelihood of a burial of Nero's victims having been feasible at the time, and on the absence of any trace of a martyr-cult before Polycarp's death. On the other hand it should be remembered that a concern for the burial of martyrs had been shown as early as the time of Stephen, and the authorities seem often to have displayed a surprising indifference to the attentions paid by fellow-Christians both to imprisoned confessors and to the bodies of martyrs.

The evidence is complicated by the existence in liturgical sources of a double tradition, one associating the grave of the apostle with the Vatican, the other with the catacombs. The inquiry turns for fresh light on the matter to the recent excavations under St. Peter's. The full account of these is one of the most interesting parts of this book. It is not easy for the reader, to whom most of this material will be quite new, to judge the soundness of the author's treatment of it, but he will be disposed to accept the conclusion that the excavations support the tradition that St. Peter was executed in the Vatican district, but, in spite of the confident reports to the contrary, do not enable his grave to be identified.

The last part of the book discusses the Matthaean text in detail. The author's verdict is that the passage is authentic, and rests on sound tradition, that the "rock" is Peter, and not, as the Reformers (and, i might be added, many Fathers) held, his faith, but that the origina context of the saying was probably that of Lk. xxii 31 f. It denotes St Peter's unquestionable pre-eminence in the primitive Church, but i carries with it no implications about any successors. Indeed it i impossible that the foundation-stone, whose function is *ex hypothes* unique, could have successors. St. Peter's office was non-transferable The theological case for this assertion is ably argued. It raises the wider question whether the apostolic office itself was similarly non transferable; in other words, whether the extreme doctrine o episcopacy is founded on a surer basis than that of the papacy.

G. W. H. LAMPE.

A DEFENCE OF RELIGION

RELIGION AND THE MODERN MIND. By W. T. STACE. Macmillan. 21s

"Is religion, or is anything in any religion, true? . . . I should myself, until recently, have replied with an unqualified 'No'. Religion, I should have said, is nothing but a mass of false ideas and superstitions of which the ultimate source is wishful thinking. . . . As a result of further study and reflection I have modified this opinion. To the question asked I now find the answer to be a qualified 'Yes'."

What makes this change of mind important for the general reader is the fact that the author, Professor of Philosophy at Princeton University, U.S.A., is a thinker of unusual candour, power and clarity. He has a wonderful gift of being able to strip a problem to its bare bones. His argument is bold and beautifully lucid, and must be taken seriously by any Christian seeking to commend the elements of natural religion to the modern mind, and by any modern man who thinks that science has disproved religion. The author's conclusion is religious but not specifically Christian; although it is not clear that his defence of religion necessarily excludes all presentations of the particular claims of Christianity. The problem should be considered in the light of recent discussion by Christians, e.g., by Professor Raven in his Gifford Lectures, and by Dr. Karl Heim.

In the first part of the book, entitled "The Medieval World-Picture", Professor Stace briefly describes the essentials of the religious belief which once controlled European thought: a personal God, world-purpose, and the moral order of the world. The long second part, "The Modern World-Picture", is concerned with the rise of modern science, and the prevalence of "naturalism" in spite of the protests and reactions of Berkeley and Kant, of the Romantics and Idealists. Although the book does not profess to be a history of thought, its historical summaries of the scientific movement from Copernicus to Laplace, and the analyses of thought of individual thinkers, such as Hobbes, Hume, Berkeley and Kant, are quite brilliantly done. But the main emphasis is always on logical connexions between ideas, or the lack of logical connexions, and on the problems themselves; and the book moves towards the personal conclusions of the third part, two long chapters on "Present Problems"—religious truth and morals.

The scientific movement did not and could not *logically* disprove the basic elements of the religious world-picture. The early scientists were mostly religious men, and some even thought their researches supported religious belief. What their work did was to render God, world purpose and moral order superfluous to men's ordinary thinking about the world. The world could be "explained" without bringing in the hypothesis of God; and within the observable world with which science was concerned there were no signs of purpose or moral order. There was no reason in logic why these should not exist; but *psychologically* it was very difficult for men's minds, dominated by science, to find any room for them. The result is that there are now two world-pictures, the religious and the scientific, in flat contradiction with each other. The second is the prevalent one. According to the first, the world is ultimately governed by spiritual forces, has a purpose, and is a moral order. According to the second, the world is wholly governed by blind physical forces, is entirely senseless and meaningless, and is "indifferent to" values of any kind.

The author is purposely putting the contrast as strongly as possible. He maintains that religion cannot be properly defended by trying to pick holes in science, or by pretending that there are exceptions to its laws. The claims of science must be upheld one hundred per cent. But so, he argues, following Kant, must the claims of religion, even if these two sets of claims contradict one another. There *are* two worlds or orders; the world of space-time (including human thoughts and volitions) which science tells us about, and in which natural law (in the scientists' sense) reigns, and all events are determined by their causes; and the ineffable world of blessedness of which the great religions speak in myth and symbol, and which is most intimately described by those who know it best, the mystics. Religion is not morality (although a high morality of love and compassion flow from mystical experience); nor is it something for the few, for most men are mystics to some degree, even if all they consciously experience is a sense of futility generated by the dominant scientific attitude. We have to learn to accept *two* world orders, and to recognize that the moment of mystic experience is as legitimate a frame of reference as the order of time and space.

R. Cant.

18th CENTURY WALES

Religion and Politics in Mid-Eighteenth Century Anglesey. By G. Nesta Evans. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 12s. 6d.

This book is the second to be based chiefly on the diary, for the years 1734-43 and 1747-60, of William Bulkeley of Brynddu in the parish of Llanfechell in the island of Anglesey. It supplements an earlier work, *Social Life in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Anglesey,* which was published in 1936, and completes the author's study of this material.

In the earlier book, the commonly accepted view was rejected, a least for Anglesey, that Wales was left by the Anglicizing of the landowners to face " the Methodist revival and the Industrial Revolution as a nation of peasants, and that the power of religion then created modern Wales out of a people entirely bereft of social traditions ". In this book this refutation is further illustrated, and carried further. By a study of the festivals, of observances such as the Christmas *plygain,* of the surviving medieval habits of pilgrimage, and of the part naturally taken by service and sermon alongside more secular jollifications, our author shows that in Anglesey at least the Church was amongst the people, that there was a social and religious life with its centre in Church and priest, and that here was no population left " outside the rusty ecclesiastical machinery " of the Establishment to be a virgin field for the Methodists. Thus the advance of Methodism meant the supplanting of an old social tradition, which had roots in the medieval past, and was more European and less provincial.

On the other hand the old tradition was apparently failing. Church life declined in the middle of the eighteenth century, as was seen first (in the experience of William Bulkeley) in the inferior quality of the junior clergy. " All authorities, Anglicans and Nonconformists ", says Miss Evans, " are agreed that, beginning with the appointment of Bishop Hoadly in 1715, the Established Church in Wales laboured for almost the whole of the century under the serious initial disadvantage of a succession of monoglot English bishops ". Surely this is to put too much even on Bishop Hoadly. For one thing the eighteenth-century series of translations from Bangor to some better see outside Wales began with that good Welshman Humphrey Humphreys, moved to Hereford in 1701 after thirteen years at Bangor (more than his successors spent there), under whom the Church of Bangor, in a Welsh opinion " enjoyed the most brilliant period of its history ". Moreover such translations, and the appointment of Englishmen, were rather more novel in Bangor and St. Asaph than in Llandaff and St. David's, where it was certainly true in an eminent degree that in these ways " the Hanoverian century was but following the tradition of its predecessors ".[1]

The diarist William Bulkeley clearly appears as an anti-clerical, anti-papist Whig. In this he was unlike his rector, Richard Bulkeley, priest at Llanfechell from 1730 to 1757. He respected the rector as a man of learning and good life, but disliked his leaning much towards Popery; his being a " rigid observer of superstitious ceremonies and several that were not required by the Rubrick, and particularly in consecrating the Bread and Wine at the Sacrament ", lifting them up and showing them to the people; and his preaching " doctrine altogether priestly ", instead of urging upon his flock salutary precepts of natural morality. He had a thorough dislike of Bishop Gibson (a common form of Whig anti-clericalism), and thought of any clerics that that prelate might send to America, that " very little difference would appear between them and the Papish missionaries ". Thus it may well be that when in 1758 he classed the curate with " the most ignorant of the most thorowpaced Athanasians ", he was not merely saying (as Miss Evans suggests) that he was a very ignorant fellow, but was using a technical term, descriptive of a party he disliked, of those divines of high orthodoxy who rejected the divinity taught by Samuel Clarke and other " Arians ".

Bulkeley's politics were of a piece with his Church prejudices. He was altogether against government. Though a Whig, he was a " country " Whig. He hated Walpole, and what in 1741 he denounced as " the obsequious, corrupt, and pensioned Parliament ", in his opinion (though what did he know about it?) Walpole's evil work. Much of the cant of opposition is in his diary. Though a commissioner of excise, he hated the laws against smuggling. (Is there not here, on pp. 160-1, some confusion of customs and excise ?). There were many poor in the island, but for all the peremptory provisions of the Elizabethan statute there was, according to this book, no regular provision for their relief, except church collections and private charity, until 1741, or perhaps 1771. In 1741 steps were taken to set up a house of correction —but for the entertainment of Irish vagabonds, not of the poor persons of Anglesey. Miss Evans describes this as applying " the poor law of 1727 ", by which she seems to mean Knatchbull's Act of 1722. This Act was for the permissive setting up, by parishes or unions of parishes, of workhouses. It says nothing of houses of correction, which were a ort of prison. In an interesting appendix the comment is made that he English machinery of local government worked well in Wales as to he counties, but " always breaks down when it comes to the Welsh parishes. The parish remained in Wales, even up to the eighteenth entury, unfamiliar as a unit of local government ".

The title of this book is misleading, for besides religion and politics other topics find a place there—local and central taxation, poor relief, ustice, morals, wages and prices. Studies of this sort illustrate the wide egional varieties within the realm, which the general historian may, nless he is careful, very easily overlook. Even within Wales, North nd South differed greatly. Within the diocese of Bangor conditions were not altogether alike in Carnarvonshire and in the island of

Anglesey, which, as Defoe observed, was " very fruitful for corn and cattle ".

R. W. GREAVES.

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[1] N. Sykes: *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge 1934), p. 363.

ABOUT THE BIBLE

THE CHRISTIAN AND HIS BIBLE. By DOUGLAS JOHNSON. London: Inter-varsity Fellowship. 3s. 6d.

THIS is a paper-covered book of 144 pages with no index, but with five Appendices, viz: a short bibliography, the Documentary Theory of the Pentateuch, Theories concerning the Synoptic Problem, the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, and a chart of our Lord's references to the Old Testament.

The book itself is divided fairly equally between the Old and New Testaments and deals with such subjects as present-day views compared with those of the traditional doctrine, and the relegation of the Bible to little more than subjective authority; reasoning in a circle; God's self-revelation; documentary evidences; the Old and New Testament Canons; difficulties from scholarship and the sciences; archaeology; prediction and prophecy; the inspiration of the Bible, and understanding it. The book is none too easy to read, it requires close attention. Its chief purpose is to induce students to take up the Bible and to study it with less prejudiced minds.

GOSPEL AND MYTH

KERYGMA AND MYTH: A THEOLOGICAL DEBATE. Edited by H. W. BARTSCH. Translated by R. H. FULLER. S.P.C.K. 22s. 6d.

THOSE unfamiliar with *Kerygma und Mythos,* consisting of essays by R. Bultmann and others, which appeared in 1948, will be glad to have an English translation by R. H. Fuller of Bultmann's essay on *New Testament and Mythology,* of J. Schniewind's reply to it and of Bultmann's reply to that; also of E. Lohmeyer's essay on the *Right Interpretation of the Mythological,* of H. Thielecke's *Restatement of New Testament Mythology* and of F. K. Schumann's *Can the Event of Jesus Christ be demythologized* ?, together with Bultmann's (so-called) replies to his critics, followed by an excellent essay by Dr. A. Farrer giving an " English appreciation " of the controversy and by a useful bibliography of this continental (and especially Lutheran) controversy.

Some of us may find it hard to approach without suspicion any work of Bultmann. Was he not the most sceptical of that overrated school of Form-critics which after the first World War treated the material of the Synoptic Gospels as though it were composed of separate small units on a par with primitive folk-tales ? Some English imitators paid

Bultmann far more than they could ever owe for his views. Nor can we forget the not unfair verdict on Bultmann's later work on Jesus; *es ist absolute Skepsis;* nor his rough handling of the order of the narrative of the Fourth Gospel. Why, then, should we read the first essay in this book by him, where he is, as Dr. Farrer observes, obviously "trailing his coat"? Can we not leave him to those German critics like Sasse who think that Bultmann after his Barthian phase is now trying to remove not myth but dogma from the New Testament? If we must see what he is telling us, can we not rest content with his more sober and lucid reply to J. Schniewind? Is not Bultmann's view aimed at rejecting the theory of the pattern of the *kerygma,* or apostolic preaching, which Dr. C. H. Dodd has done so much to elucidate? As that pattern appears in the speeches in Acts, the Pauline Epistles and in the Gospels too, did it not run like this: "The time of fulfilment has come; God has sent Jesus his Messiah; Jesus has worked deeds of power and has taught with authority; he was crucified, dead and buried; the third day he rose from the dead; [of these things the Apostles were witnesses]; he is seated at God's right hand; he will come again as [Judge and] Saviour of men; his disciples are the true people of God; as such they have received the Holy Spirit of God; therefore repent, be baptized and receive the gift of salvation and of eternal life?". (For the words in brackets see Dr. T. F. Glasson's article in the *Hibbert Journal,* 1952-3, pp. 129-32.) Is not Bultmann trying to break this link between the faith of the primitive Church and her credal formulae by asking whether the world-picture of the New Testament is not mythical in character and so unacceptable to modern man that we must "demythologize" it (for this horrible word has come to stay)? Should we not agree with G. Casalis: *Il est incontestable qu'il y a chez M. Bultmann non seulement interprétation de mythes mais dèvaluation pure et simple du message néotestamentaire*? (*R.H. Ph.R.* 1951, 3, p. 340). In fact, is not this argument little more than a repetition of the dreary negative "faith" of certain writers who have claimed exclusively to be "modernist" and who are to-day rather in eclipse?

At first sight the answers to some of these questions would seem to be in the affirmative. But let us be fair to Bultmann. He is trying sincerely, not, like some "modernists", to eliminate mythology from the New Testament, but to interpret it to modern man. (But what is the "modern man" of Bultmann? K. Grobel suggested that he has a university education, perhaps a doctorate. He has studied philosophy, culminating in modern philosophy—and since he is a German, modern philosophy means the phenominalism of Husserl and the existentialism of Jaspers and Heidegger. Most important of all, he is completely estranged from the Church and its language. Yet Grobel ends by admitting that Bultmann's questions remain for us too, *J.B.L.*, 70, 1951, pp. 99 ff.). Bultmann has sent us back to some wise words of O. C. Quick: "Myth is the only language we can use about supramundane realities in so far as we speak of them in the category of action. When we speak of the eternal nature and attributes of God we make allowance for the imperfection of our human language and understanding by reminding ourselves that we are using our terms *analogically*. And if we speak of divine *actions* in the heavenly sphere, we must speak of them in same analogical way, which means that we tell a myth about them. The myth is a true myth, if it serves to express a reality which we cannot express better in other ways." (*Doctrines of the Creed*, p. 136). Bultmann has raised doubts whether any New Testament myth is true, and he has caused Dr. Farrer to make some helpful distinctions in this book upon this subject (pp. 214 ff.). Anything that could possibly be a " myth " (including the Resurrection) is treated anthropocentrically by Bultmann: " Faith in the resurrection is really the same thing as faith in the saving efficacy of the Cross," Bultmann asserts. Was the Cross the pressing of an electric light switch which illuminates us in the twentieth century? Does the flex between it and us matter little ? We should agree that the account of the Resurrection is not given in the Gospels (how could it be ?) but the record of the appearances of the risen Lord and the evidence of the empty tomb and of the rise and growth of the Christian Church are there; here is a threefold cord not broken by Bultmann's anthropological treatment. Those of us for whom Christianity is Christ and to whom the Incarnation, Cross and Resurrection mean everything, will think it significant that Bultmann does not discuss the Incarnation. Yet he is right to remind teachers and pastors that the New Testament speaks in strange language; if he wants to fit his faith to the Procrustean bed of Heidegger's existentialism, he may, though few existentialists would embrace his torso of the Christian faith.

C. S. C. WILLIAMS.

COAL

THE WORKER'S POINT OF VIEW: A DISCUSSION OF " REPORTING BACK " BASED ON A STUDY IN A COALFIELD. Edited by G. RATTRAY TAYLOR. Acton Society Trust. 2s.

CHALLENGED recently by the National Union of Mineworkers to say whether the Coal Board was selling coal to the steel industry at less than cost price, the chairman declined to give an unequivocal answer. In the miners' view, if an increase in the price of coal is the only means by which their claim for higher wages can be met, that is how it should be met. They are unmoved by the prospect of an all-round increase in the price of commodities to offset the increased cost of coal, and they regard it as other people's business, not theirs, to check the " inflationary spiral " of wages and prices chasing each other *ad infinitum*. Meanwhile, less coal was produced last year than in 1952, the number of workers declined, absenteeism increased, and miners showed even less willingness than hitherto to get the most out of mechanized processes. From all of which it would appear that the case for nationalization is not noticeably strengthened by the experience of the coal industry. Weighty support for this conclusion is afforded by the Report of an inquiry recently carried out by members of the research staff of the Acton Trust, a body founded by the Joseph Rowntree Social Service Trust to undertake economic, political and social research. The coalfield investigated (given a fictitious name in the Report) comprised 18 pits of various sizes, chiefly supplying the domestic market, employing from 250 to 1,850 men. The inquiry was chiefly directed to discovering how familiar the employees in these pits are with the policies, problems and difficulties of the pit in which they work, the coalfield to which it belongs, and the industry as a whole: it was concerned, in other words, to measure the success or failure of the machinery of information and consultation which the coal industry was explicitly charged to set up by the nationalizing Act. The group's findings must cause serious disquiet to every reader who believes that the experiment of industrial democracy, which is the ideal inspiring the policy of nationalization, is likely to justify itself only on the basis of good relations within each industry, and between industry and the public; for good relations include easy and smooth-running means of communication, valued and utilized by everyone concerned. Communication between the nationalized industries and the consumer outside is the subject of another Acton Trust Report: *Relations with the Public*; that under review is concerned primarily with the problems of communication—of the sharing of information and the discussion of policy and opinion—within the coal industry. No impartial reader, after considering the evidence presented, will quarrel with the research group's conclusions that " the situation revealed is far from satisfactory ". It should be the first concern of management to dispel, by all appropriate means, the cloud of prejudice and suspicion which hangs over the eyes of the miners as a hang-over from former days; and this is a task demanding imagination and sympathy—qualities which appear to be rather conspicuously lacking. The widespread ignorance and mistrust are astonishing. The men have so little conception of the " national plan " for the reorganization of the industry that they do not know why mechanization is necessary, or what its effect will be on manpower. They are convinced that they are carrying on their backs a horde of idle officials and administrators. There is " no machinery for informing the men of the financial condition and productivity of their own pits—it is not the Board's policy, as a rule, to give this information." They are haunted by " a persistent fear of the return of unemployment, a deep suspicion of all those in authority, who are thought to be idle or venal, when not cruel or malicious, and the belief that the public regards the miner as an inferior type of human being and almost a social outcast." Some miners believe that nationalization is a device to restore the industry to good condition at public expense, so that it can be returned to the previous owners at a convenient political opportunity: others, that pits are closed in order to make opencast mining necessary, since it pays dividends to private contractors.

The plain implication of this report is that the key to the coal problem is not economic but psychological and moral. What is needed is " the restoration of confidence "—say, rather, its creation and maintenance. The writers emphasize the immense importance of the part played by the manager (in this connexion it is surprising to read that " only the Scottish division of the Coal Board runs a summer school for colliery managers ".) This seems to be widely recognized: the same point was made, for example, in Mr. Christopher Salmon's recent broadcast talks, and stressed in the reports and recommendations of the teams of managers, technicians and operatives which visited the U.S.A. under the auspices of the Anglo-American Council on Productivity.* The researchers at " Pollockfield " recognize that the specific questions to which they addressed themselves " can only be assessed within the context of a full-scale analysis of the problems of morale ". In industry generally, they mean, presumably, and at this point also they are supported by Mr. Salmon, who pleaded for the initiation of a widespread debate on the true ends and purposes of industrial activity in the national life. Such topics as " duty " and " responsibility " would have their place in such a discussion, and a C.Q.R. reviewer may express the hope that it might even include some consideration of the relevance of a Christian doctrine of vocation to problems of the secular order.

C. E. HUDSON.

*See Graham Hutton: *We Too Can Prosper.*

UNSUSPECTED POWERS

A NEW APPROACH TO PSYCHICAL RESEARCH. By ANTONY FLEW. Watts & Co. 10s. 6d.

THIS is a vivacious and salutary book on a subject which can excite undue hopes or excessive scepticism. Some have hoped that the development of psychical research would prove valuable as a force to counteract the prevailing materialism of our age. J. B. Rhine, who has done important pioneering work in regard to Extra-Sensory Perception, has encouraged this view. But, as Mr. Flew's book makes abundantly clear, the objects of such perception are material, not spiritual. Again, research into the claims that some can make contact with the "dead" only reveals attempts to communicate with a realm essentially material in its character. Messages presumed to have come from the other world have not been from those who were noted as practising Christians in this life, nor have they told anything a Christian would particularly want to know about the hereafter. It may be that psychical research will reveal unsuspected powers belonging to man:

but so far all that has occurred is that certain individuals have been demonstrated to possess powers outside the ordinary range. This is no great addition to the answer to the vital question, What is man?

Further experiments with psycho-kinesis may bring important discoveries concerning the control of matter by mind: but for that we have to wait. Here we should have valuable light on the nature miracles of the Bible narrative: and our doctrines of causation would be illumined. We may hope that the researchers will pursue this subject energetically.

Concerning poltergeists, clairvoyance, and telepathy, Mr. Flew exhibits a good deal of scepticism: and it is well that those who cannot delve deeply into psychical research should receive warning against placing undue reliance on reports and interpretations which may come their way. We are forcefully reminded that to enter properly into all these matters we ought to join the Society for Psychical Research, and study its detailed reports. For this most of us have neither time nor opportunity; and we may gratefully accept the guidance this book affords. The subjects it deals with have come so much into popular thought that the clergy and instructed Christian laymen need to know something about them.

Whilst the general tenor of this book may seem sceptical, there is the emphatic insistence that Psychical Research is on the trail of the undeniably real. But for its interpretation and incorporation into the general body of thought we shall have to wait. Premature attempts to seek reinforcement of religious truth from this source are to be discouraged: we might find ourselves leaning on a broken reed.

A most valuable feature of the book is the insistence on defining terms; and especially the call to beware of transferring words from one universe of discourse to another and fancying that the transference makes no difference to their significance. Psychical researchers have sometimes a passion for high-sounding and emotional phraseology which can be most misleading. It is well to be put on our guard.

In sum, this is an interesting book, and should be taken into account by anyone inclined to embark on his own on a study of the matters with which it deals. As its writer desires, it suggests the right temper of mind in which to approach a subject at once obscure and intricate, the "science" of which is in its infancy.

C. J. BARKER.

CHRISTIAN ORIGINS

THE BIRTH OF CHRISTIANITY. By MAURICE GOGUEL. Translated by H. C. SNAPE. Allen & Unwin. 42s.

THESE great tomes of continental scholars, working over and over all the controversial ground of Christian origins, become tedious in their intricacies. M. Goguel's learning is massive and his mind acute. His production has been enormous. This book is the second volume of a trilogy on Christian origins. Messrs. Allen and Unwin have already given us the first volume (*The Life of Jesus*, 1933) and now we are indebted to them for the second which continues the story. The third *L'Eglise Primitive* (1947) is still untranslated. On the whole the translator has done his work well; but the index is very jejune and there are mistakes such as "synchretistic", "tendacious", "trays", "crucifragium", "Quartodecians", "Antinomists", as well as errors in Greek quotations which give a bad impression.

M. Goguel approaches his task objectively, from the point of view of religious Sociology (p. 10). His Jesus, like Schweitzer's, came to believe himself to be the Messiah, but, as Goguel thinks, because he had to suffer. His disciples shared this belief, and after his crucifixion he appeared to many, and they became convinced of his continued life with God in glory. The appearances were not visions, but real psychological experiences of men not seeking or expecting them. They convinced the disciples, became materialised as historical proofs, and took on the character of a confused, though factual, history. The resurrection is the resurrection of the faith which the disciples had in Jesus during his ministry.

What happened then? "The creation of an Object of Worship" is M. Goguel's answer. The Jerusalem church held to the old faith and grafted on to it the Messiah Jesus. It developed a functional Christology of Jesus the prophet destined to be Messiah and redeemer. It was without a doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Apostolic control gave place to that of James and the "desposunoi" of his Davidic family. After the exodus to Pella in 68 or 70 Jewish Christianity passed into Ebionism and faded out.

However a pre-Pauline Hellenistic Christianity arose: its first appearance is marked by the appointment of the Seven Deacons and the martyrdom of Stephen. Stephen's speech seems to show that he thought God to have turned from Israel to the Gentiles. The subsequent persecution was directed by the Jews against the Hellenists only. They scattered as missionaries, preached to Gentiles, and founded Churches in many places including Antioch. Hellenistic Christianity was more radical than Paulinism in its attitude to the Jewish Church. Paul, the Pharisee, appears as responsible for a great effort of construction by which he not only freed the Gospel from the Law. but showed it to be in the true succession of Hebrew religion. The effort was not appreciated. Paul's journeys were dogged by emissaries of the Jerusalem Church and hampered by opposition from Peter and the Apostolic element, and from the Jews themselves. At his last visit to Jerusalem, the Jewish Christians did not lift a finger to save him: at Rome, in spite of his preparatory letter, he was coldly received by the Hellenistic Church, and "died in isolation and in the midst of indifference".

Yet in ten years his Christian universalism had triumphed. He did not create a new religion: he was centred on the Cross of Christ: "but" says M. Goguel "without Paul Christianity might have evaporated: with Paul and without Jesus it could never have been." One may perhaps be thankful for small mercies!

The treatment of Paul and his theology shows agreement in the main with Schweitzer and Dibelius. M. Goguel is inclined however to over-emphasize inconsistencies, and regards the theology as unsystematic, e.g. Paul has no homogeneous view of redemption, he has two distinct eschatologies, and three theories why the Law has been superseded. The basis of Pauline theology lies in Christian experience: life in Christ is his central inspiration. But he refused to break with Judaism and tried, so far as he could, to keep in touch with the Jerusalem Church.

The second half of the book contains a fascinating study of the local and doctrinal divergences which preceded early Catholicism, and how they came together partly by opposition to heresies, and partly by the necessity for organization into the early Catholicism of Tertullian and Irenaeus. There is certainly here no over-simplification! One notes here and there a tendency to assume first, and resume the assumptions as facts. But the dominant impression is that of masterly and fair historicism.

C. B. ARMSTRONG.

METHODISM

METHODISM AND CATHOLICISM. By JOHN LAWSON. S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.

FOR the *Church Quarterly Review* to devote space to a notice of a pamphlet by a Methodist, and moreover a Methodist pamphlet published by the S.P.C.K., might have appeared strange even half a century or so ago. It is, however, a mark of the growth together of the Churches which has been so marked a feature of the last thirty years that this should be the case. But this is no ordinary pamphlet, and Mr. Lawson an author who has already in another sphere placed scholars in his debt.

The author's theme is that the fears for Catholic faith and order which not unnaturally beset the thinking of many Anglicans about Church relations are largely groundless so far as close relations with the Methodist Church is concerned. All Anglicans (whatever their school of thought) recognize a special responsibility for closer relations with the Methodist Church. Here at least is a schism which ought never to have happened. It was a fortunate experience of my own during the war to work side by side with a succession of Methodist chaplains, and nothing but the happiest memories remain of what was in a true sense a partnership in ministering. Attendance (without communicating) at a Free Church Communion service conducted by a Methodist minister at a preterminal conference before Dr. Vidler's Mission to the University of Durham, served only to reinforce the point. With a few insignificant alterations the service was the 1662 Rite. That the minister conducted the service from the south end of the *mensa* seemed perhaps strange. That he wore an ordinary lounge suit without robes could hardly be a decisive bar. If as a chaplain I had lost my robes during the war it would hardly have been a matter even of apology to the authorities if I had celebrated in my R.A.F. uniform. The accepted theory of the origin of the eucharistic vestments is that they represented the best secular dress of a Roman gentleman of the period. Personal experiences, if not completely decisive, cannot go for nothing, and I cannot for myself believe that the officiant was not celebrating a real sacrament.

Mr. Lawson examines the teaching of John Wesley and the practice of the Methodist Church seen in the light of its corporate experience during its independent existence. He concludes that the door is wide open for a ready reception of the values which the Anglican Church has retained and in some respects recaptured during the past century. His judgement will confirm what many Anglicans have come to suspect for themselves. He pleads for an act of generosity on the part of the Anglican Church which will serve as an act of faith in the victory of the principles for which she stands. In principle there is much here that deserves consideration and commands assent, but the extent and nature of this act of generosity never becomes quite explicit.

Some Anglicans may well be uncertain as to the extent of the absorption of the former Primitive Methodist strain in Methodism, and others might wonder how far Mr. Lawson is speaking from the Sacramental Fellowship wing of Methodism. Certainly the local chapel in a mining village in County Durham would be likely to wear a different theological and perhaps even liturgical guise than Mr. Lawson's own Church and others that I know.

That the Methodist Church would not come to the Church of England empty-handed is clear. We badly need the freer and less inhibited development of the spirit of worship. The accent upon lay witness and lay service which the Anglican has been struggling in past years to recapture is for Methodism a native tradition, while the Methodist Church has a tradition of scholarship of which any part of Christendom might well be proud.

The Anglican and Methodist Churches were made for each other, and there is something even more unnatural about their separation than in any other of the historical fragmentations of Christendom. At the same time we must take heed of a brilliant dictum of Dr. Gordon Rupp (himself a Methodist), that there is some danger of the Oecumenical Movement becoming the Gnosticism of the twentieth century—an esoteric movement of a spiritual *corps d'élite*. Mr. Lawson and I are certainly ready for closer Church relations with each other. It is, however, a question of our denominations as well as of ourselves. I hope that Mr. Lawson is right about the Methodist Church as a whole. I wish that I could be more sure of the Church of my own allegiance. But I hope very much that the Church Relations Committee of the Church of England will be invited to take the question of closer relations with the Methodist Church several stages further than it has done as yet.

H. E. W. TURNER.

JEW AND GREEK

Jew and Greek: A Study in the Primitive Church. By Dom Gregory Dix. Dacre Press—Adam and Charles Black. 12s. 6d.

It is sad to think that we shall have no more characteristically lucid and brilliant studies from the pen of Dom Gregory Dix. This posthumously edited work lacks the author's own expansions and revision but, short though it is, it represents a valuable and serious contribution to the problem of the development of early Christianity. After a particularly brilliant opening chapter which makes no more than the permissible number of overstatements inevitable to a painting on so broad a canvas, Dom Gregory turns to the Apostolic Church. He fully realizes the daring and successful leap between Syriac and Greek culture which Harnack and others had dated as late as the second century. With greater justice the author believes that in essentials the step had been taken by the middle of the first century. Yet if the conflict between the two cultures went on, Christianity itself appears not so much as a shuttlecock passed to and fro between the two but as a genuine *tertium quid* a third factor in its own right much as Christians were later reckoned as " the third race " beside Jew and Gentile. Its characteristic feature is that it represents a worship expressing itself in a dogma. He convincingly argues that a thoroughly Hellenized Christianity would have a very different guise from that which Christianity presented in the second century.

The work abounds in short discussions on particular points which would doubtless have been expanded in a final revision. His treatment of the persecutions of Christianity from the legal point of view does not seem wholly satisfactory. The " collegium " theory which he accepts, though possessing some evidence in its favour, is not wholly adequate even to the letter of Pliny. His distinction between the author of the second Gospel and John and Mark will arouse much interest and discussion; it would be surprising if it were ultimately accepted. The teasing epithet " stump fingered " can after all be better related to Mark's desertion of St. Paul after the first missionary journey. Why should a thoroughly Gentile author retain the Aramaisms of the Gospel text ? Dom Gregory returns to the problems of the identity of the Last Supper with the Jewish " haburoth " and retains his original theory after a discussion of Jeremias' Passover theory. Here I believe him to be right in what he rejects but would register some hesitation about his own familiar theory. Is the Rabbinic evidence which he quotes so satisfactory a support for his theory as he inclines to think?

But, details like these apart, Dom Gregory has a real sympathetic grasp of what it must have felt like to live in the Apostolic Age surrounded by fundamental problems to which the answer was by no means so obvious as it has sometimes been made to appear. His work remains an important contribution to the study of Christian origins.

H. E. W. Turner.

TERTULLIAN ON PRAYER

TERTULLIAN'S TRACT ON THE PRAYER: THE LATIN TEXT. By ERNEST EVANS. S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d.

ONCE again Dr. Evans has given us one of his editions of the Latin Fathers returning to Tertullian, his first love.

It is an interesting little treatise, probably rather full sermon notes than anything more formal combining a devotional exposition of the Lord's Prayer with some miscellaneous information on the liturgical habit and conflicts of the early Church. The experience of a parish priest is rightly used to illustrate its meaning.

Dr. Evans has become a master in the art of annotation for his chosen public. The notes are always significant and no tendency is shown to the type of comment which agglomerates parallels at the expense of darkening counsel. At the same time the reader will find all that he needs for the proper understanding of the text. It is inevitable that at some points the notes should be more satisfactory than others. The comment on "corpus eius in pane censetur", for example, is particularly good and sensible while it is possible that the editor has not really got to grips with the kaleidoscopic character of the terminology of Tertullian in his opening note. It is doubtful whether his interpretation of the Intercessory Prayer of the Church at the Eucharist is really satisfactory. Is not the point that after the Offertory "the world is shut out and only the People of God" prayed for "really rather overdrawn"? Canon Evans might be interested to learn that the practice of private reservation is perhaps not so dead as he imagines. I had the embarrassing experience of being asked by a communicant in Durham Cathedral last summer to be allowed to take the wafer away with presumably some such practice in her mind.

The editor offers some emendations of his own to the text. These are usually sensible and fully explained in the apparatus and the notes. But he is a bold man who would emend an author with so distinctive and varied a Latinity as Tertullian.

Admirable as this little edition is, it makes one reader at least ask for more. Could Dr. Evans next time give a more significant treatise such as the de Praescriptione Haereticorum more on the scale of his own edition of the "Adversus Praxean"? Something more extensive than Bindley's somewhat outdated commentary is needed here.

H. E. W. TURNER.

A CATHOLIC COMMENTARY

A CATHOLIC COMMENTARY ON HOLY SCRIPTURE. With a Foreword by the CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER. 1,312 pp. 12 maps. £4 4s. 1953. Thomas Nelson and Sons.

THE appearance of a Catholic commentary on Holy Scripture, in the tongue of Milton and Shakespeare, in one tremendous volume, is in truth a portent, an event of the greatest significance for the whole Christian world. If, as is much to be hoped, many "non-Catholic" (using the term without prejudice) readers are induced to make use of this remarkable work, they will discover that not a few of the beliefs they may have entertained, with some past justification, about the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church towards the study of the Scriptures by the laity, must now be cast aside. It will probably surprise many readers to learn that 104 editions of complete vernacular Bibles were printed in most of the continental languages before the first Protestant Bible, and that Wyclif's version, although, from the Catholic point of view, the work of a heretic, was nevertheless allowed to circulate freely among Catholics.

Premonitory signs of this spring-time, if we may be allowed to call it such, of the study of the Scriptures by Catholic laity, have already appeared in the form of new translations of the Bible into English, such as the Westminster version, and Monsignor Knox's notable translation, which has been reviewed in this journal. These have been sanctioned for general use by the Holy Office. Moreover, any one who has had occasion to make use of such periodicals as *Biblica*, *Scripture*, or the invaluable *Revue Biblique*, can hardly fail to be aware of the healthy state of Catholic Biblical scholarship.

While it is well to recognize the rock-like character of the Church, yet it has also an organic character, it is a living Body, and growth is to be desired, and not to be feared. An interesting example of such healthy growth is to be found, to take only one instance, in the valuable article on Higher Criticism in relation to the Old Testament. Here the authors point out that

> Nearly the whole 19th century passed before Catholic exegetes took up the challenge seriously and began to demonstrate that "criticism" is not fatally destructive of Christian tradition—rather that the tools of criticism rightly used are a precious aid to the understanding and explaining of the Word of God. But Catholic scholarship in this matter has not yet made up for its late start.

At the close of the same article comes the reply of the Pontifical Biblical Commission in 1948 to questions addressed to it on the subject of the early chapters of Genesis:

> The question of the literary forms of the first eleven chapters of Genesis is far more obscure and complex. These literary forms do not correspond to any of our classical categories and cannot be judged in the light of the Greco-Latin or modern literary types. It is therefore impossible to deny or to affirm their historicity as a whole without unduly applying to them norms of a literary type under which they cannot be classed. If it is agreed not to see in these chapters history in the classical and modern sense, it must be admitted also that known scientific facts do not allow a *positive* solution of all the problems which they present. The first duty in this matter incumbent on scientific exegesis consists in the careful study of all the problems literary, scientific, historical, cultural, and religious connected with these chapters; in the next place is required a close examination of the literary methods of the ancient oriental peoples, their psychology, their manner of expressing themselves and even their notion of historical truth; the requisite, in a word, is to assemble without preformed judgements all

the material of the palaeontological and historical, epigraphical and literar sciences. It is only in this way that there is hope of attaining a cleare view of the true nature of certain narratives in the first chapters of Genesis On this remarkable reply the authors quote the judgement of a moder scholar in the Palestine Exploration Quarterly (1949), "It would b hard to state more explicitly the attitude of the best modern Ol Testament scholarship towards the problems of the early chapters o Genesis." The whole of this excellent article may be read with profi by any serious student of the Old Testament. Nor does it stand alone Among the 18 articles of general introduction all those of factua content, such as the articles on the history and geography of Israel, o Archaeology and the Bible, on Measures, Weights, Money and Tim and on the Languages, Texts and Versions of the Bible, are of th highest quality and cannot fail to be of great use to the studen Others, such as that on the History of the Rheims-Douay Version, o that on Our Lady in the Scriptures, while of special interest to Catholi readers, might well serve to give non-Catholic readers reliable information on the Catholic position and help to foster a spirit of charity an tolerance in respect of matters in which there are deep-seated difference of opinion.

Among the articles introductory to the New Testament that by Monsignor Barton on the Textual Criticism of the N.T. is particularly valuable. Also of a high level of scholarship are the articles on the Jewish World in N.T. Times, and the Pagan World in N.T. Times. Dom Butler's article on the Synoptic Problem, is, as might have been expected, a defence of his thesis concerning the priority of Matthew; a thesis which has already been severely criticized by N.T. scholars. The article on Non-Catholic Higher Criticism of the Gospels closes with the sentence, "Higher criticism set out to destroy confidence in the gospels, but on a balanced view of the evidence, it has only succeeded in destroying confidence in itself." It can undoubtedly be acknowledged that many of the strictures in the article are justified, but the general attitude towards literary criticism as a necessary tool of Biblical study contrasts strongly with that of the article quoted above on the Higher Criticism of the O.T.

It has not been possible to do more than take soundings in the commentaries on individual books, but one gains the impression from soundings in both O.T. and N.T. of a scholarly and instructive running commentary on the logical divisions into which the text naturally falls. The non-Catholic reader will be conscious of an appeal to, and dependence on, tradition and authority; sometimes, perhaps, a tendency to "protect the Omnipotence", to use Charles Williams' striking phrase. But throughout one is aware of the impressive presence, in the background, as it were, of the great Roman Church, the Church of Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory the Great, as well as of Alexander VI, Innocent III, and Torquemada, the Church which preserved the light of the Gospel and of civilization in the West through the Dark Ages, and which has ever sought to guard the sacred deposit, If we of the Anglican persuasion feel that we breathe a freer air, unchurched though we may be by our Catholic friends, yet we can rejoice with them in this great achievement, thank God for it, and trust that in addition to its main purpose of instructing the Catholic laity in the Scriptures, it may also serve to enlighten many non-Catholic readers as to the breadth and depth of Catholic scholarship, piety, and devotion to Him who is their Lord and ours.

S. H. HOOKE.

THE FOUNDER OF A LIVING TRADITION

PLATO: SOCRATIC DIALOGUES. Translated by W. D. WOODHEAD. Introduction by G. C. FIELD. Nelson Philosophical Texts. 10s. 6d.

IT is not possible to know the full range and profundity of Plato's idea of divinity. He wrote always as an artist, and as a member of a relatively small, but very sensitive and intelligent society, the Athenian state. And he has himself said that his deepest convictions could only be learnt by others if they were prepared to examine their own experience. Nevertheless his dialogues do convey an understanding of a divine cause as identical with " the Good ", and almost with Love.

No wonder, therefore, that Christian apologists have often found the Platonic philosophy congenial to their own thought. Clement and Origen thought that Plato knew the Hebrew scriptures. And we may note with satisfaction today the growing current interest in a Greek thinker of such outstanding wisdom and literary talent. For Plato was concerned to combat tendencies which are closely parallel to similar trends in present-day experience. He deplored the decline of piety and morality in the city-state. He challenged those who remained indifferent, secularists—men who lived what he termed " unexamined lives." In particular he was concerned to controvert the views of the physical philosophers who corresponded in some ways to our scientific atheists. With his incomparable literary gifts he re-established belief in spiritual and ethical truth by a metaphysical theory which has never since lacked adherents. He did not turn his back, as so many of us are doing today, on the enemies of truth. He challenged error. Christians —even if the Platonic concept of God is not our own—may be thankful that thousands are reading the Socratic dialogues. We, alas, have no Plato who will challenge our infidels and sophists.

Readers of this Quarterly need no reminder of the influence which Plato has wielded in the history of thought. Plotinus and Augustine nursed the Platonic tradition. We have lately been taught to recognise in the Cambridge Platonists—to take one instance—the enduring effect on modern thought of one phase of Christian philosophy in which Platonism was paramount. These men, for whom the writings of Plato were said by their opponents to have gained an almost canonical validity, were not in any strict sense followers of Plato, but it is from Plato that they acquired a temper of mind which distinguished them from the narrowness and error of some contemporary forms of Christianity. In his *Poets and Mystics* the philosophical author, E. I. Watkin, has furnished a full and convincing account of this fine type of Anglican piety in his study of John Smith. Divine knowledge for these men was not notional, but " real, vital, experimental ". Diffident about doctrine, and regarding the dogmatic intolerance of Puritan and other sects with deep aversion these men represent a philosophical position which influenced subsequent generations long after the issues which they debated had fallen into oblivion. Ernst Cassirer has shown that in spite of the pedantry and diffuseness of much which was written by the Cambridge Platonists their influence was not unfruitful. Cassirer has drawn attention to the profound influence received by Shaftesbury from the ethical and religious thought of Cudworth, More and Smith.

As these saintly divines in the troubled times of the Commonwealth found benefit from the works of Plato so may we, if we like, derive spiritual nourishment from the same source. For it is from him that the still living tradition of Christian philosophy springs. Everyone who believes in the governance of the world by a divine spiritual cause and recognises the paramountcy of an objective standard of morality is Plato's pupil.

NATURE AND THE SUPERNATURAL

Natural Religion and Christian Theology.—II. Experience and Interpretation. By Charles E. Raven. Cambridge University Press. 21s.

In the first series of his Gifford Lectures, delivered at Edinburgh in May 1951, Dr. Raven gave an historical discussion of the relations between natural science and Christian theology. The volume now in our hands, which contains the second series delivered a year later, contains a philosophical discussion of the same theme.

The first three lectures are concerned with religious experience and its interpretation; in them Dr. Raven impressively maintains the thesis that, however imperfectly it may be sometimes understood, authentic experience of God is to all intents and purposes universal among human beings. In the next three lectures he argues for the supreme significance of Jesus for the interpretation both of religious experience and of the physical universe. In the last four lectures, the discussion passes on to deal with the relation of nature to God, the doctrine of the Spirit and of community, and of eternal life.

There is much in this book that is quite admirable. In particular, the discussion of biological teleology in Chapter VII is to be commended. Taking examples as diverse as the primitive bird *Archaeopteryx*, the sponge *Euplectella aspergillum*, the diadem spider and the common cuckoo, Dr. Raven shows that it is quite impossible to explain evolution along the Darwinian line of natural survival by the accumulation of large numbers of separately advantageous minute variations, since, in one case after another, the individual variations are positively disadvantageous until the final stage of full development and combination has been reached. It is in fact impossible to avoid the impression of an immanent teleology in nature, seeking to achieve certain predesigned ends, and the theistic significance of this will be obvious to anyone except the type of positivist for whom it is antecedently impossible that there should be theistic significance in anything. If I concentrate mainly on certain points which seem to me to be highly questionable this must not be taken to deny the value of a great deal that Dr. Raven has written.

Like the previous volume, though perhaps less obviously, this second volume fails altogether to discriminate between the wide variety of views which agree in seeing nature and supernature as not altogether identical. Dr. Raven conducts a recurrent polemic, with which I for one would sympathize, against those tendencies in modern Protestant theology which set the natural and the supernatural in direct antagonism. He seems, however, unable to envisage any other alternative than a complete identification of the two; in consequence, having rightly expounded the way in which our Lord, as perfect man, fulfils the whole order of nature and gathers it up into Himself, he then virtually identifies our Lord's deity with His perfect human nature. On page 72 there is an extraordinary passage in which the orthodox doctrine that in Christ there is no metaphysical human *person* is taken as meaning that His human *nature* is incomplete, and is condemned along with the Apollinarian heresy that He had no psychological human *mind*. Then, to our surprise, we find on p. 89 that the orthodox doctrine of the two *wills* in Christ, the purpose of which was precisely to insist upon the completeness of the human nature, is rejected in its turn, being apparently identified with the Nestorian doctrine that in Christ there are two *persons*. In fact Dr. Raven seems so thoroughly to despair of uniting the natures without maiming the humanity that he makes them altogether identical. Thus he writes on p. 101: " We cannot, if we are to be truthful, say more than that He is God for us, . . . God in so far as His being and nature can be reflected " (ambiguous word !) " in the perfect Son of Man ". Has Dr. Raven, I wonder, remembered that, unless Jesus is God in the fullest *metaphysical* sense, the adoration which, in common with other Christians, Dr. Raven is prepared to give to Him is nothing less than idolatry ?

This immanentist monism appears again in Dr. Raven's discussion of the doctrine of the Trinity, in which he defines the three Persons simply in function of their relations to the created world. " God experienced as the source and ground of all existence, God manifested in the creation and development of the universe, the educative Logos of the Greek Fathers, and God immanent in his creatures as ' life-giver ' and inspiration. *The only difference* between such a statement and the orthodox Christian doctrine of the Trinity is one of language " (p. 146, my italics). We may indeed agree that " unless the whole divine activity is shared by each of the three Persons, the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity is endangered and tritheism becomes inevitable" (p. 151); that all the three Persons are involved together in God's activities *ad extra* is a well-worn principle of traditional theology, but it does not involve defining them simply in terms of their relations to the world. The Athanasian Creed found a different way. What is, however, astounding is that, in the very chapter in which the sentence just quoted occurs, God's activity in the world is attributed almost entirely to the Holy Spirit.

In this book as elsewhere Dr. Raven rebukes the Church with some violence for its neglect of the doctrine of the Spirit, and up to a point he may be right. His own method of redressing the balance, however, is not to develop the neglected doctrine but simply to ascribe to the Spirit, in effectual detachment from the other two Persons, all the operations of God in the natural world. His implied attack upon the neo-Protestants for their pessimism in regard to the natural world is no doubt justified, but this pessimism does not in fact seem to be due to neglect of the doctrine of the Spirit; it is due rather to a misunderstanding of the relation of the triune God to the world and to an exaggeration of the extent to which the sin of creatures can undo the creative work of God.

A few further points may be noted. It is unfortunate that Dr. Raven makes no reference to the extremely illuminating discussion of the relation between nature and supernature, and between reason and revelation, in the earlier chapters of Dr. Farrer's Bampton lectures *The Glass of Vision*. The chapter on the Significance of Jesus makes little reference to the fact that, whatever else he claimed to be, Jesus certainly claimed to be the Messiah. And, in view of recent work upon the tables of "random numbers" commonly used in statistical work and indeed upon the concept of "randomness" itself, it is perhaps unwise to base too much upon the parapsychological investigations of Professor Rhine.

It is with regret that one writes so critically of a book which from start to finish breathes its author's burning desire to claim God's world for its Creator and to bring all things into union with Christ. Its usefulness is, however, grievously impaired by the defect upon which I remarked in reviewing the first volume, of a total lack of recognition that there is any significant difference between the attitude to nature of neo-Protestants on the one hand and the main tradition of Catholic thought on the other.

E. L. MASCALL.

BANKRUPTCY OF MAN

MAN IN THIS WORLD. By HANS ZEHRER. Abridged and edited version translated with the assistance of distinguished scholars and teachers. Hodder & Stoughton. 25s.

THIS certainly is an important book. The author depicts at length the progressive bankruptcy of modern man because, supported and inflated by the conquests and achievements of science and in the temporary shelter of urban civilisation, cut loose from nature below and around him, from God above him, he has attempted to stand by himself with only his fully conscious intelligence, and by its unfettered use alone to become master of his destiny and autonomous lord of the world. In consequence he is becoming the slave of a totalitarian state, part nationalist, part socialist, with the imminent danger of perishing beneath its ruins when it falls, and fall it must. Already the family has been largely destroyed and the individual is exposed naked to a ruthless collective which has usurped the place of God, in fact, the collective man-god. He can, however, be saved, restored to freedom and a full humanity if he will return to humble faith in God. " The opponent of totality can only be the individual who is based on God." He must, in fact, reverse the process whereby " Anthropology " has replaced " Theology " and the conviction of sin has been lost.

The author supports his thesis by a study of the historical factors and forces which have produced the present crisis.

For the substance of it this thesis is as true as it is of urgent import. As, however, with the majority of our spiritual counter-revolutionaries, Herr Zehrer seems to me too reactionary. The modern movement in the breadth of human experience of which modern science and the world it is making have been born is most emphatically not enough. Followed exclusively it can end only in disaster. Man must return to the depths of his experience, beyond the order of scientific reasonings where alone he can meet God. But it does not follow that to do this he must relinquish or depreciate the scientific movement in breadth. What is needed is neither the thesis of the scientific positivist or the antithesis of the reaction against it, though, if we must choose, the latter alone is indispensable, but a synthesis covering both the depth and the breadth of experience.

Herr Zehrer seems to regard it as a failure of science that it cannot give us a firm and coherent view of reality, cannot in any deep and satisfying sense explain. This is no more a failure of science than it is a failure of carpentry that it cannot provide the strength of steel. The fault lies only in the attempt to make science do the work of metaphysics, even provide a substitute for religion.

Even abridged, the book seems to me too long-winded and unwieldy. The author's thesis could, I believe, have been presented in far briefer compass with no loss of force. It is also regrettable that Herr Zehrer appears to accept the portrait of Christ drawn by liberal Protestant theology, obtained by the arbitrary procedure of rejecting as unauthentic any recorded sayings inconsistent with a character and doctrine assumed *a priori*. For in the teeth of the Synoptists he denies that Christ's teaching contained " elements of Jewish apocalyptic and eschatology ".

God, I might add, was *not* identified by medieval cosmology with the *Primum mobile,* actually the first of the heavenly spheres. Nor did

Joachim of Flora expect the advent of the third Kingdom, prophesied, as the author said, for 1260, in his own lifetime. For he died in 1202. And it seems to me gross exaggeration to say " his writings contain the essence of the ideas and movements which were to fill the next seven hundred years ". The amazing growth of science and its practical results would have produced a conviction of inevitable secular progress, had no religious prophet foretold the dispensation of the spirit. Joachim's heirs are not the humanist progressives, men such as H. G. Wells, but the distinctively religious prophets and groups who preach the advent from heaven not by man's effort of a new messianic order.

Nor can I see any special connection, still less " close connection " between post-Copernican astronomy and "the emergence of the modern National State ". The latter emerged in the later Middle Ages before Copernicus was born.

E. I. WATKIN.

EPISCOPACY AND REUNION

EPISCOPACY AND REUNION. By E. R. FAIRWEATHER and R. F. HETTLINGER. With a Foreword by the Bishop of Durham. Mowbray. 12s. 6d.

A BOOK by two authors, who are neither collaborators nor opponents, but partners, with much in common but different methods of handling the same material, is always exciting. We find ourselves wishing that these eight lectures, four by each writer, delivered in Canada, could have appeared in the form of a dialogue in which the speakers could have discussed in amicable conversation the meaning of *nulla salus extra ecclesiam,* or *iure divino,* or *esse* and *bene esse,* or what St. Clement of Rome really meant by *ellogimoi andres* and " their ministry." But this would have involved immense labour, and perhaps much that is valuable would not have got itself said. So no doubt the form adopted is for the *bene esse* of the book. Both writers are familiar with the literature of the subject, ancient texts and modern interpretations, and their pages abound with references.

What they give us is to a certain extent a commentary on, and a criticism of, *The Apostolic Ministry.* Dr. Fairweather is the more friendly critic, though he finds some " indefensible generalisations ", and he doubts the wisdom of introducing the idea of the *shaliach,* which seemed so important to Dom Gregory Dix and the Bishop of Oxford. Dr. Hettlinger argues more stoutly for its irrelevance, and he has other more serious criticisms. These differences between the two authors are characteristic. Dr. Fairweather has considerable sympathy with what is called the Anglo-Catholic position, though he has one notable paragraph, which has the ring of F. D. Maurice:

> We are attempting, not to construct an edifice that will accommodate as many human traditions as possible, but to discover the God-given structure of the Church, so that our " united " Church will be one in the grace and

truth of Christ. We are concerned to enter more fully into something given, and not, in any theologically meaningful sense, to establish something new. His interpretation of the whole story is of the solid type. All the elements of the Apostolic Tradition, doctrinal, liturgical, hierarchical, " must stand or fall together ". On the whole his view of non-episcopal communities seems to approximate to that of N. P. Williams in *Northern Catholicism,* with his distinction between " the Catholic Church " and " The Universal Church " or Christendom. In other words, it derives from St. Augustine rather than from St. Cyprian. To Dr. Fairweather the Lambeth Quadrilateral seems a rather bare minimum, though it is patient (as Newman said about the Articles) of a Catholic interpretation. The word patient (in its more usual sense) recalls one quality that he possesses. He is not in an over-great hurry. Speaking of Anglican movement towards reunion with the East, and the resolution of Anglican ambiguities that it would entail, he counsels patience and consideration of general Anglican feeling.

Dr. Hettlinger, while equally familiar with the patristic literature, is more disposed to begin with the assured gains of the Reformation and with Anglican formularies. He sounds, when he quotes the " concessions " of seventeenth-century divines, as if he were forgetting that the Carolines were thinking of Continental Protestants, the poor things who had not the Anglican opportunity to be at once episcopal and reformed. True, he mentions this fact later, as a well-known thing, but not in his *catena.* He quotes the Twenty-Third Article as " intended to allow the validity of orders duly conferred under these general conditions, *where episcopacy is absent* " (italics ours). He continues:

> The regular organ of authorisation is the historic ministry succeeding from the men appointed by the Apostles. But if and when necessity requires some other polity the Church itself, the apostolic fellowship, must authorise its ministry. As we recognize the essential Catholicity of the Free Churches, so we must acknowledge the validity of their ministries when duly commissioned, by " men who have public authority ", in the faith that God will give the grace of Ministry.

The Anglican position seems to him to have arisen from the fact that the Reformation drove the Church of England into " a unique and entirely compelling situation in which the realities of Christian experience made some pragmatic judgment necessary". He also is Maurician:

> The life and peace of the Church in its fullest flower depends upon a regular and faithful succession of the episcopate fulfilling its commission of preserving apostolic witness to the Christ, but, if the episcopate fails, God's power is not finally thwarted.

and he also is patient

> that Free Churchmen should accept episcopacy because Anglicans are intransigent and the only way to peace is to fall into line: or that Anglicans should acknowledge the claims of non-episcopalians without really being convinced by the witness of the Spirit that God is with them—either of these paths lead to frustration. We must move forward steadily, but we must not expect the differences and misunderstandings of centuries to fade with the rapidity of morning mist.

He notes with justifiable satisfaction some encouraging signs of the times, and he is of opinion that the South India Church is a real expression of the Lambeth Quadrilateral, but that the Ceylon Scheme is better still. The two authors together have given us an extremely useful book.

S. C. CARPENTER.

INDIAN RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY

IDEALISTIC THOUGHT OF INDIA. By Dr. P. T. RAJU, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Rajputana, Visiting Professor of Philosophy in the Universities of California and Illinois. Allen & Unwin. 42s.

THIS is a most important book. Really and truly indispensable to all who wish to know something of the Indian religious philosophies, Hindu or Buddhist. Comprehensive, it is never superficial. Dr. Raju gives us first a sketch of the idealistic philosophies of Western Europe in modern times. He then studies and discusses the various philosophic systems of Hindu Vedanta which agree in accepting the authority of the Upanisads. It is followed by a corresponding account of the Buddhist philosophies, Hinayana and Mahayana. Finally we are introduced to the teaching of modern Indian philosophers, living or but recently dead.

The detailed accounts of minor schools are not always easy to follow. This is, however, but to say that a book of this kind simply cannot be read off even carefully. It must be kept for slower reading and permanent reference.

Nevertheless, through all varieties and diversities a general trend of thought is clearly brought out, to reach and affirm the spiritual or idealistic monism, represented in Hinduism by the Advaita Vedanta of Sankara and in Buddhism by the schools of the Mahayana. It is fairly clear that the author is substantially, at any rate, an adherent of Sankara's Advaita. But he is not merely objective but definitely sympathetic to the speculation of other schools, even where he must dissent from their conclusions.

His illuminating historical picture of Buddhism displays an advance from what was perhaps a pure negativism and agnosticism—though, as he shows, certainty and unanimity as to the actual teaching of the Gautama is unobtainable—to an Absolutism substantially the same as that of Advaita Vedanta, though not, in Dr. Raju's opinion, so satisfactorily conceptualised.

Nagarjuna's void for example is not the nihilism it sounds, but an ultrapositive reality beyond all determinations and qualities, the same, therefore, as the Vedantist Brahman. It is also a cosmic Buddha, the law to which all is subject. The equation indeed between Brahman Absolute Reality and Dharma, the law, is emphasised by Dr. Raju. As regards the Godhead itself, the Absolute, Brahman, the Christian philosopher, as the Jesuit Fr. Johanns explained years ago, can or rather must accept the Advaita doctrine. For him also the Godhead is Absolute Being, beyond concepts, without qualifications or attributes really distinct from Itself. Not even Nagarjuna piles up negatives more uncompromisingly than the Pseudo-Dionysius accepted as a master in the Catholic schools.

Moreover, although Indian thinkers seem to exaggerate unduly the incoherence and the unreality of the finite objects of our experience and of our own souls, assimilating them too closely to the incoherence and illusoriness of dreams, there are, I am sure, no radical divergences here. For the Christian philosopher, also, being which is not complete nor self-explanatory, contingent not absolute, cannot be so real as the Absolute Reality, and is therefore but incompletely real. The Quaker alderman Pennington did not differ in principle from the Indian thinker when he wrote: " Every truth is a shadow except the last. But every truth is a substance in its own place, though it be but a shadow in another place."

Where there is a radical divergence between Indian and Christian philosophy, where I must disagree with Dr. Raju is as regards the status and explanation of these grades of partial being. The Indian assumes —at least I have not seen an attempted proof—that what is not fully real cannot be permanent. Therefore, he concludes the individual soul cannot be permanent. Those Vedantists who like Ramanuja regard souls (iivas) as permanent, feel obliged therefore to introduce them into the Brahman. They are His body. This, however, is incompatible with the Absolute Simplicity of the Absolute as truly affirmed by Advaita.

Madvah alone seems from Dr. Raju's too brief account of his thought to approach the view of Christian philosophy. It seems to me gratuitous to deny that God's will may keep in permanent existence finite beings capable of receiving Himself. " He showed me a little thing, the quantity of a hazel nut. I (Dame Julian of Norwich) thought, what may this be ? It was answered thus: ' It is all that is made.' I marvelled how it might last, for methought it might suddenly have fallen to naught for very littleness. And I was answered: ' It lasteth and ever shall last for that God loveth it.' And so all thing hath being by the love of God."

Dr. Raju argues that because we cannot know what Brahman, the Absolute, is, we cannot deduce the world from it. We can, however, know that God is more, not less, than the highest finite values. He must be more than wise, more than loving. Reason, however, can see that it does not consist with wisdom or love that when in this " vale of soul making " souls have attained such union with the Absolute that the barriers of self-will, even, so *The Cloud of Unknowing* holds, self-consciousness have been destroyed and the soul is wholly the receptacle of God, Brahman, His Reality, His Consciousness, His bliss, it passes out of existence and God alone remains as before the process began. If, however, these souls abide eternally as such receptacles of God,

" partakers of the Divine Nature ", then we can understand why Superlove and Superwisdom tolerates the evil and the suffering arising inevitably from the element of unreality which enters into the composition of finite beings and in man becomes the possibility of freely chosen sin. Indian thought, however, finds it illogical to hold that God can confer being on partial realities, unless they are either illusory appearances of Himself (Sankara) or enter into His composition (Rananuja). Why can they not be projections or reflections of God outside Himself ?

Incidentally, as Fr. Johanns points out, this Christian metaphysic reconciles Sankara's view of Godhead with Rananuja's doctrine of permanent souls.

After study of this illuminating account of Indian religious philosophy, I am more than ever convinced that, although it shows a way of union with the Absolute Godhead, the goal of all religion, it misconceives the relation between finite being, and therefore human spirits, and God, which, on the other hand, is stated satisfactorily by traditional Christian philosophy, even if we prescind from doctrines such as an historical Incarnation and the Trinity which lie beyond the scope of philosophic thought. On the other hand, I am convinced of a large measure of agreement between the spiritualist, Dr. Raju calls it idealist, philosophies of the East and West which both culminate in a doctrine of mystical union with the Absolute: a union, however, which we cannot with a majority of Indian thinkers regard as a pure and natural identity.

I do not follow Dr. Raju's differentiation between the statement that something exists and does not exist and the statement that it both exists and does not exist. It is surely verbal. What is meant is that in one sense or aspect it exists, in another sense or aspect it does not.

The Modern Indian thinkers studied by Dr. Raju accord more positive value to finite being, even to our present lives on earth than did the classical philosophers of India's past. But except for Mr. Krishnamurti they are too wise to break with traditional wisdom. Nor, indeed, does he in fact do so. In consequence they hold fast the fundamental truth of Indian wisdom that man's end is to find the Absolute Divine Reality, though they also, even Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore, appear to retain its fundamental error that the individual self is impermanent and when God is found must disappear. Even Tagore, who is so insistent that man's supreme activity is the love of God, seems to overlook the truth so well expressed by Patmore:

> Could lovers at their dear wish blend
> Twould kill the bliss that they intend.

A soul loving God with His own love given to herself fulfills the perfection of love. A soul annihilated by her love of God loves no longer. God alone loves as He did before that soul began. Divine love perfect may be, is, in fact, one love, namely, God Himself but in two-God and the deified soul.

I cannot accept Dr. Raju's identification of Kant's transcendental self (general consciousness), his thing-in-itself and his God. It may be that such an identification was the logical conclusion of his philosophy, but he did not teach it.

E. I. Watkin.

A VITAL MOVEMENT

The Liturgical Movement. By Dr. J. H. Srawley. Alcuin Club. 4s.

Dr. Srawley was recognised as one of the most considerable liturgical scholars in England after he published his book *The Early History of the Liturgy* forty years ago. This reputation was greatly enhanced when at the age of 79 he published an enlarged second edition. It was at once seen to be a masterly example of precise and judicious Cambridge scholarship. For many years he had been a member of the committee of the Alcuin Club. Just before he died last year the committee were fortunate in persuading him to publish his essay *The Liturgical Movement, its Origin and Growth.* It was a subject in which he had taken a deep interest for more than twenty years. The book is another example of the work of a true scholar, but it shows also how profoundly he was versed in the fundamentals of worship and its relation to the life of the spirit. Though the book is small in compass, it is packed with knowledge and insight. What aroused Srawley's interest was the motive that lay behind the movement—the discovery of a mode of worship that would ennoble character, make religion a living witness to the world and a regenerating power in society. The Benedictine writers in Germany and France and Belgium, whose contributions to the great theme are described here, were inspired by certain convictions. (1) The Incarnation makes possible the lifting up of humanity to God. (2) The Church, the Body of Christ in which he lives and works, unites man to God. (3) The spirit of sacrifice whereby the Christian shares in the sacrifice of Christ is vital. Of this, the Eucharist, both sacrament and sacrifice, is the true school of Christian asceticism.

These writers in their effort to restore a corporate worship in which every member plays a living part, went back behind the subjectivism which came in with the Middle Ages, to a conception of worship which was communal and collective. Every page, every paragraph gives food for thought as there emerges a revolutionary conception, which would rescue the Act of Communion from the notion that it was a solitary tête-à-tête. Srawley describes the practical consequences as these have been drawn out in recent years. If the people are to be brought into touch with the liturgical action, the liturgy must be audible and intelligible. Hence the demand for the vernacular, for the celebrant facing the people, for the offertory procession, for praying the liturgy with the priest. Incidentally, many readers will feel disturbed that so many of the advantages sought, which are to be found in the reform of English worship which began in 1549—the vulgar tongue; uniformity, which enabled the worshipper to know where he was; and an enriching splendour of language—have been recklessly thrown away in the Church of England during the last twenty-five years. They will understand the urgency of the " generally recognised and accepted revision " for which Srawley hoped. The abandonment of subjectivism—episcopal and parochial—is no less necessary in Anglican than in Roman worship.

A. S. DUNCAN-JONES.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A notice in this selection of recent works does not exclude a subsequent review.

Sacred Books of the World. By A. C. Bouquet. Penguin Books. 343 p. 3s. 6d.

This book is intended as a companion work to the author's *Comparative Religion.* Near the title-page is a quotation from Justin Martyr saying that " whatever men have uttered aright . . . belongs to us as Christians ". The range of the book is impressive There are passages from the Chinese classics, from the Upanishads, from Zoroastrian literature and from the immense collections of Buddhist canonical literature. Jewish and Moslem sacred writings are represented. Egyptian literature is represented by a variety of extracts including a theological document believed to date from the fourth millennium B.C. The author, in an introductory note, declares that we should avoid trying to understand all religious phenomena by reducing them to their lowest terms.

Comparative Religion. By A. C. Bouquet. Penguin Books. 2s. 6d.

A well-informed survey which may be read in company with the preceding volume.

The Platonic Renaissance in England. By Ernst Cassirer. Translated by J. P. Pettegrove. Nelson. 207 p. 15s.

It has been left to a foreign scholar to discover and explain the true significance of the Cambridge Platonists. (This work, published in German in 1932, has been translated by one of the author's pupils at Oxford and the translation was read by Professor Cassirer before his lamented death in 1945).

The Cambridge school embodied a certain line of thought which was opposed to the prevailing direction of English thought in the seventeenth century. It stemmed from the whole philosophical movement of the Italian Renaissance. Its influence upon later thinkers was important, also.

The Rescue and Achievement of Refugee Scholars. By Norman Bentwich. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 6.25 guilders.

A very valuable study of the work done by political refugees between 1938 and 1952. Too little is known of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning.

Plato. Socratic Dialogues. Translated by W. D. Woodhead. Introduction by G. C. Field. Nelson. 308 p.

A review of this volume appears on another page.

Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. (Enlarged Everyman's Library). 6 vols. 7s. each. Introduction by Christopher Dawson.

This convenient edition will be very popular. The remarkable introduction by Mr. Dawson adds a unique interest to this new Everyman edition. As Mr. Dawson truly says Gibbon's success was due, not only to his great literary gifts, but to his choice of a theme " which was precisely adapted to those gifts and to the spirit of the age ". On the other hand, Gibbon's thought " had been so moulded by the culture of the Renaissance and the philosophy of the Enlightenment that he could recognise no other values ". Those were Gibbon's limitations—an outlook which he was to share with many after him. To that we must attribute his very inadequate treatment first of Byzantine history, and secondly, of the rise and progress of the Christian Church.

What is Religion ? By Alban G. Widgery. Allen & Unwin. 325 p. 18s.

A philosophical inquiry which makes full use of the psychology of religion. Lucid and constructive, balanced and erudite, it will be widely read.

Family and Colour in Jamaica. By Fernando Henriques. Preface by Meyer Fortes. Eyre & Spottiswoode. 18s.

An important study by a lecturer in social anthropology whose family is Jamaican.

Origen's Doctrine of Tradition. By R. P. C. Hanson. S.P.C.K. 213 p. 25s.

This able work—of which a review is in preparation—will prove to be a valuable introduction to the study of Origen. It includes a full and comprehensive bibliography.

Meditation and Piety in the Far East. By Karl Ludwig Reichelt. Lutterworth Press. 171 p. 17s. 6d.

The author, a missionary for forty years in the Eastern parts of Asia, has made " a religious-psychological study " based on long and intimate contacts with the religious élite of the East. None has written about the adherents of Eastern faiths with greater understanding. The book opens with an able discussion of general and special revelation.

The Christian Hope. The Presence and the Parousia. By J. E. Fison, B.D. Longmans, Green. 268 p. 21s.

Man needs hope. The primitive Church found hope in the *Coming* of the Lord. Canon Fison's work is an able exposition of what this really means for us, throwing a new light on present-day experience, and furnishing a neglected element in our faith. *A review will follow.*

The Righteousness of God. By Gordon Rupp. Hodder & Stoughton. 25s.

A profound and learned study of Luther and the Reformation.

Lord, Hear my Prayer. By Shirley C. Hughson, O.H.C. Holy Cross Press, New York. $3.00.

A series of meditations for Sundays and Holy days through the Christian Year. The author is known to our readers as an outstanding spiritual writer. Born in South Carolina in 1867 he died at Holy Cross Monastery in 1949.

The English Religious Tradition. By Norman Sykes. S.C.M. Press. 7s. 6d.

An accurate and lucid account of religious history in England since the Reformation. An admirable introduction to the subject for the student, clerical or lay.

Dr. Arnold of Rugby. By Norman Wymer. Foreword by Sir Will Spens. Robert Hale. 208 p. 21s.

This book, written after much research among private papers, furnishes a needed supplement to the *Life* written by Dean Stanley so many years ago. We have found it a record of absorbing interest, while still feeling that there are questions for further discussion.

Psychoanalysis and Personality. By Joseph Nuttin. Sheed & Ward. 16s.

An able book by a psychologist whose standing is recognised and who holds a chair at the Catholic University of Louvain. *A review is in preparation.*

Medieval Essays. By Christopher Dawson. Sheed & Ward. 16s.

A collection which well illustrates the author's wide learning and philosophical insight.

The Church and Infallibility. By B. C. Butler, O.S.B., Abbot of Downside. Sheed & Ward. 12s. 6d.

A lucid account of the Catholic doctrine written in answer to the Abridged Salmon.

The English Philosopher. By Leslie Paul. Faber & Faber. 25s.

A useful survey for the general reader.

Aesthetics and the Gestalt. By Ian Rawlins. Nelson. 227 p. 18s.

Reference is made in our editorial notes to this interesting book, of which a full review is in preparation.

Thomas Hardy. A critical Biography. By Evelyn Hardy. Hogarth Press. 341 p. 25s.

An interesting study. In spite of able critical works by David Cecil and others we still feel that we would like to know more about Hardy, a master in his own field. Hardy's early interest in classical studies and his friendship with the Rev. Horace Moule (brother of Bp. Handley Moule) are significant facts revealed in this work.

The Lie about the West. By Douglas Jerrold. Dent. 62 p. 6s.

Mr. Jerrold is an historian of considerable learning, who can form an independent judgement. In this book he controverts the thesis, now well known, of Professor Toynbee's book, *The World and the West.*

Oxford Dictionary of Quotations. Second Edition. Oxford. 42s.

A new and better edition of a book already well known and liked.

The Letters of Sydney Smith. Edited by C. Nowell Smith. Oxford. 2 vols. 84s.

A careful edition of these entertaining letters. Sydney Smith's irrepressible wit enlivens the sentiments of a strong and independent Churchman, whose opinions were often in advance of what was fashionable.

Germany—Key to Peace. By James P. Warburg. Andre Deutsch. 25s.

A critical examination of Western policy towards Germany from 1945 to 1953 by an American with wide knowledge.

The English Epic and its Background. By E. M. W. Tillyard, Litt.D., F.B.A. Chatto & Windus. 548 p.

An outstanding book, the author showing much insight into the thought of the masters of epic literature. Just emphasis is laid upon the religious element in Langland, Spenser, Sidney, Milton and Bunyan. Dr. Tillyard is equally at home in his handling of the " Background " which includes, of course, Homer, Virgil, the Greek Historians, Dante and others.

Prophecy and Papacy. A Study of Lammenais, the Church, and the Revolution. By A. R. Vidler. The Birbeck Lectures 1952-3. S.C.M. Press, 299 p. 25s.

A review is in preparation.

The Spirit of St. Francois de Sales. Edited and translated by C. F. Kelley. Longmans. 300 p. 8s. 6d.

Jean Pierre Camus, Bishop of Belley, intimate friend of de Sales, recorded many of his conversations.

Thérèse of Lisieux. By Hans Urs von Balthasar. Sheed & Ward. 16s.

An able study by a Swiss theologian.

The Meditations of William of St. Thierry. Translated from the Latin by A Religious of C.S.M.V. Mowbrays. 107 p. 7s. 6d.

This translation has the qualities which we should expect, and the Introduction is good. From it we learn that the author, a Flemish nobleman, was born at Liege in, or about, 1085. He became a friend of St. Bernard and abbot of St. Thierry. This book is a valued addition to devotional literature in English.

Of Cleaving to God. Translated from M.S. attributed to Albert the Great by Elizabeth Stopp. Mowbrays. 2s. 6d.

A classic valued by the devout during four centuries.

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Fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te.

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EDITORIAL

Authority and Freedom

" THE modern challenge to all religious belief " is inescapable. To prepare an effective answer to that challenge we must understand the mind of the ordinary type of secular thinker. What marks the present climate of thought more than anything else is an impulse for criticism and inquiry. It is however commonly believed by a number of thoughtful men outside the Church, and even by laymen who have been baptized and confirmed, that speculative thinking about the ultimate problems of life is repugnant to Christianity. It is supposed that the acceptance of a certain body of beliefs is an obstacle to the free exercise of the mind. " Religious dogmas," says Professor Thouless in his Hulsean Lectures*, " are generally regarded as warning-notices against the exploration of certain lines of thought." He pleads for greater freedom of thought about the basic issues of religion.

No doubt there are in the Christian world many excellent persons who have learnt the doctrines of the Church in infancy and have practised the Christian religion faithfully ever since. We may be thankful for their example. But it is doubtful whether such persons are the best qualified to cope with current problems of evangelism. And we must not shut our eyes to the fact that a great many persons whose orthodoxy, whether in the pulpit, or in secular discussion, is taken for granted are merely giving lip-service to a system of thought which they have acquired by rote and at a very superficial level. There is growing up a new generation which will insist on reasoning about doctrine. Professor Thouless argues in his admirable and lucid *Authority and Freedom* that our understanding of religious truths would be *greatly enhanced* by a free exploration of religious ideas. If belief in God and its implications are fully considered, if we are also encouraged to explore the

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**Authority and Freedom*. By R. H. Thouless (Hodder).

reasons why on the contrary so many people have no such belief but are inclined to accept the view that the world of history and science is all that there is, then, when we gradually weigh the two philosophies, those of us who have chosen Christianity after free debate will be much stronger and more devout than the conventionally orthodox.

In the same way the vast army of writers and workers who assume dogmatically with never a word of discussion that the supernatural is nonsense, and that the biological conception of human nature is the whole truth—and we do not see becoming apparent any considerable modification of this widespread heresy—should be accosted and reasoned with. But how seldom is this done!

The demonstration of the possibility of the religious explanation must be, I think, the first task of religious apologetics at the present time. It provides an essential foundation on which a structure of religious faith may be built. It is one of the characteristics of our times that this foundation is often lacking . . . (Thouless).

Responsibility

THOSE party issues which formed the subject of bitter controversy in earlier days have now ceased to be urgent. The old partizanship sometimes still marks the judgment of a few, but among the laity and the nation generally its exponents are insignificant. With many signs of rapid social change new problems confront the Church. There is one which outweighs all others. It is the increasing indifference to Christian principles, and not only to Christianity but to the very possibility of a religious interpretation of life. By many commentators the marks of this are not appreciated.

The Archbishop of York in his letter for June 1954 adverts to the subject of Responsibility and lays emphasis on the increasing tendency to evade responsibility. A large number, he says, " are quite incapable of giving a decision or taking the initiative if there is any possibility of their making a mistake, or being subject to criticism ". One of the causes of this evil his Grace finds to be a " mass-formed mentality " which accepts standardized opinions. And he observes that initiative, and will to take responsibility, are more characteristic of the countryman than of the townsman. To shirk responsibility is one of the weaknesses which stem from apostasy.

The aversion to responsibility is patent in a number of familiar aspects of social life, and especially in many intellectual pursuits. Here particularly it may be detected in the current preference for specialised work. Specialised studies are a form of escape—as we often see in medicine and certain other learned professions. The specialist is apt to reflect that not with him will rest the final responsibility. Those justified to speak tell us that in all the learned professions there is an increasing preference for specialist work. The deeper issues are left in abeyance. And in Divinity we may note likewise a comparable trend. Here, too, specialism predominates.

What is the reason? One consequence, certainly, is a big escape from responsibility. The multitude of common men, ailing as they are in both body and soul, are seldom the concern of the specialist. Their need and distress can be left to others, or, perhaps, to the collective care of an omnicompetent state. No doubt in their preoccupation with some special study many theologians are in conformity with the general trend in other professions. But Crockford is irrefutably right in saying that " not nearly enough of the Church's wealth of theological learning has much relevance to the nature of the modern challenge to all religious belief ". It is difficult to reconcile the outlook of the pure specialist with that religious interpretation of life for which we make our appeal.

NOTES

PARISH CHURCHES

An appeal* has been launched for funds to repair the parish churches. The parish churches form an incomparable legacy from the past. As religious institutions, and as social and artistic centres they have always fulfilled an indispensable function. No other nation has such churches. In Norfolk there remain 650, of mediæval foundation. In Suffolk there are 550. In Lincoln nearly as many. Altogether at least 9,000 parish churches have survived from the distant past besides many monastic and collegiate churches. Many more have been allowed to disappear. In the reign of Henry V there were 41 churches in York.

There have long been available detailed studies of the parish churches, and those who have access to the works of Parker, Bond, Cox and A. H. Thompson—to say nothing of the immense stores of measured drawings in such nineteenth-century publications as the A. A. Sketch Book, the John O'Gaunt Sketch Book and the Builder—might seem not to need more. But the subject is comprehensive, and Mr. G. H. Cook has now added an important study in *The Mediæval Parish Church* (Phoenix House). Mr. Cook has already shown how well he understands his subject in his work on Chantries and Chantry Chapels published a few years ago. He has greatly aided an understanding of the close association of the people with their church. The church was enlarged and enriched with the prosperity of the town and its inhabitants. The subject is an inexhaustible mine of precious material for the architect, archæologist and student of social and religious history. And these priceless monuments are still here, accessible to every would-be student.

Mr. Cook is very interesting on the subject of the origin and development of the church-plan. Immense numbers of the old churches have lost their original form through the addition of aisles, transepts, and chapels. The people of the 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries were bold architects. And they were generous with their hard-earned wealth. One very important source of that wealth was, of course, the beautiful wool which this country produces, and the famous cloths and blankets woven from it.

Mr. Cook studies in detail the great enlargement of Witney Church through the centuries, when Witney was a very prosperous town of clothiers. Other towns adjacent to the Cotswolds like Burford and Northleach bear witness to the same care applied by wealthy clothiers and wool staplers to the improvement of their churches.

* The appeal is made by the Historic Churches Preservation Trust, Fulham Palace, S.W.6.

THE RELIGIOUS BOOK CLUB

The Religious Book Club has published its hundredth volume. Its first volume was written by F. R. Barry, the present Bishop of Southwell, in 1937. We owe this important Christian organisation, which is bringing out constantly books of the utmost value for its purpose, to the initiative of Hugh Martin and his colleague Alex Walker. And that purpose was what ought to be the purpose of us all today—to interpret Christian theology to a nation which scarcely knows anything about it. In a circular just issued by the S.C.M. Press we read that " for the most part the folk to be aimed at had no means of knowing what was available." It is still true that the man in pew, and still more the multitude who never occupy any pew, ought to be told more of the immense riches of Christian thought and literature. This the Religious Book Club has helped to do. We are sure that it has made an impact on the student world. But in a pagan society no religious undertaking can have enough publicity. It needs recommendation all the time.

THE OXFORD DIOCESE IN 1854

" These answers are made 'salvo jure patroni'." So wrote the officiating minister of Wet Sandford in the Diocese of Oxford in answer to a series of questions sent to him in 1854—one hundred years ago—by Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford. The Patron of the Donative was the Duke of Marlborough. The Rector, also rector of two portions of Waddesden, Bucks, lived at Shepherd's Bush!

This, however, is not at all typical of the Oxford Diocese when Wilberforce made his painstaking visitation in 1854. Bishop Wilberforce's Visitation Returns for the Archdeaconry of Oxford, now ably edited by E. P. Baker and published by the Oxford Record Society paint a different picture—a diocese showing many signs of spiritual vitality: crowded churches, increasing numbers, busy schools, and a keen desire for evangelism. Some whose connection with the County of Oxon has accorded them oral traditions from the past will have heard of the spiritual leadership of the great Bishop, and the pastoral zeal of the clergy in his time.

These returns furnish an absorbing story of parish life in an epoch of genuine piety. Both readers who are interested in the local history and all who are students of social change will find them invaluable.

Take a few of the congregations. The little town of Leafield had a chapel of ease too small for its congregation of more than 300. Afternoon services were popular. At Minster Lovell the Church " is generally of an afternoon quite full ". Of Ludgershall we read " The sittings for the poor quite filled. Separate seats for Farmers occupy rather too much space." At Witney the parish church had congregations of five or six hundred, in spite of the fact that many were driven from the Church by the pew system. At Bloxham, says the Rev. James Hodgson, there is much complaint about pews. " Parties offer them for sale." Although the congregation reached 400, the Rector was dissatisfied, and modestly attributed the supposed smallness of the congregation to "my own deficiencies in promoting religion and to the general dislike of High Churchmanship."

The Church was growing in the 'fifties, and we read much about schools. Funds were being collected everywhere for the new Training College at Culham, for the S.P.G., and for the "Wives and Children of Soldiers and Sailors ordered to the War". These visitation returns for 1854 merit full and careful study. They will help to correct mistakes of historical writers.

NEW TESTAMENT SCHOLARS

*John Mill and Richard Bentley** is an instructive and stimulating book by the Archdeacon of Westminster. Bentley is familiar to every scholar, and readers of Boswell will remember Dr. Johnson's high opinion of him. But John Mill is scarcely known outside New Testament studies. To the text of the New Testament he rendered an immense service.

Dr. Adam Fox has written a monograph for which scholars will be grateful and many who make no profession of scholarship. For in the history of textual criticism of the New Testament during the latter part of the seventeenth and the first quarter of the eighteenth centuries we have not only an important chapter in the history of scholarship —in an age when scholarship was sincere—but a sidelight on the state of religion in the Age of Reason. It is worthy of note that Mill's herculean labours were not appreciated by all. Bentley thought it necessary to intervene in defence of the work against those who were prepared to believe that an accumulation of thirty thousand variant readings would threaten the security of our most sacred texts and "expose both the Reformation to the Papists and Religion itself to the Atheists." And Bentley proved that 30,000 variants was not really a great quantity in the circumstances. More than once it had to be pointed out that no variant reading impaired in any way the evidence of the Christian faith.

Scholarship ranked high in the days of Mill and Bentley, and there was a free interchange between scholars of different communions and nations. *Le trahison des clercs* had not yet threatened the progress of learning. Nor had social change diminished the flow of talented candidates for Orders.

THE CANDIDATES FOR ORDERS

The new issue of Crockford maintains a useful tradition in its commentary on current ecclesiastical affairs. In some sections it inevitably raises controversial topics. Its range is wide. The Coronation, the House of Laity, the neglect of Natural Theology and the excessive attention to Biblical Theology are subjects briefly summarised, while much space is given to the question of Divorce and Revision of the Canon Law.

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*Blackwell, 25s.

There will be general agreement as to the importance of one question discussed. In 1952 of the men seeking Holy Orders only 96 had graduated at a university. And yet the universities are well equipped with Theological, Philosophical and Classical faculties, the benefits of which should be a normal qualification for spiritual leadership in an educated nation. It is distressing to learn that of candidates recommended by the selection boards only one-third possess the qualifications required of an entrant by the universities.

If we ponder on this decline in the quality of candidates we shall better understand the strange trends in theological opinion to which Crockford draws attention. It is alleged that among young ordinands an irrational fundamentalism is prevalent, and that such reactionary ideas may account for the diminished impact of the Church's message among normally minded people. Such persons might with benefit study a stimulating little book by Dr. A. C. Craig entitled *Preaching in a Scientific Age*. Dr. Craig is addressing a Scottish audience, but his wise guidance would be useful to clergy of every communion. " If the Church," says Dr. Craig, " is to play its proper part, it must not be allowed to become a culturally stagnant enclave within the movements of our time."

The Crockford Preface has always shown an independence of judgment which is the author's right. In this age the individual is much exposed owing to the press and the radio to the forces of a public opinion which represents, not what is true and profound, but what is mediocre and superficial. The Church, no less than secular society, needs protection against those subtle forces which oppress the human spirit through the mouth of collective opinion.

In the possibility of a commentary where the writer is exempt from any inducement to pander to the prejudices of party the Church of England is very fortunate. How that freedom is exercised is another question. We need not all agree with Crockford. But a religious communion cannot suffer harm from freedom of speech. It is more likely to need, in the words of John Stuart Mill, protection " against the tyranny of the prevailing opinion and feeling; against the tendency of society to impose, by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas and practices . . ." Compare Crockford " there are now few who are able or who dare to say, with any hope of influence, anything but what the controlling mentality wishes to hear ". The same tendency has infected many spheres of human thought. It is flagrant in literary criticism, in art, architecture, in medicine and indeed in every sphere where an established, but erroneous body of opinion is associated with vested interests. In journalism today fashion moulds opinion. The independent thinker is rare—rare because the qualities by which an originality of insight is fostered depend ultimately upon religious sincerity. Such sincerity being absent the reading public is astonished to see critics of accepted authority changing their ground and trimming their judgements to suit the vagaries of ephemeral taste.

TIMES SUPPLEMENT ON THE BIBLE

The Times has published at 1s. a 32-page supplement on the Bible, which, notwithstanding its awkward size, 1½ feet high by 1 foot broad, is a most valuable work, with thirty contributions by the most distinguished Christian scholars of the day—Church of England, Roman Catholic and Nonconformists, to mention some of them: Sebastian Bullough, C. H. Dodd, G. R. Driver, S. H. Hooke, A. R. Johnson, Ronald Knox, T. W. Manson, C. R. North, N. W. Porteous, B. J. Roberts, H. H. Rowley, N. H. Snaith, and D. Winton Thomas.

Among the subjects dealt with are The Language and Text of the Old Testament, its archaeology and literary growth; The Pentateuch; The Prophets and the Wisdom Literature; the Revised Version; several articles dealing with the New Testament, and there are others on the Apocrypha, the music of the Bible, the British and Foreign Bible Society Metrical Psalms, and the Lectionary and the Psalter.

Two of the most interesting articles are on The Revised Version by G. R. Driver, and on Later English Versions by Father Bullough. Among the latter are The Westminster Version under Father Lattey (still in progress), Knox's translation from the Vulgate, Weymouth's, Moffatt's, Smith and Goodspend's, the Revised Standard Version and the "remarkable *tour de force*" the Basic English Bible by Hooke. Driver's article on the "prematurely born" Revised Version is excellent. As the leading article which prefaces this Supplement says: "No one with an eye and an ear for its traditional beauty will ever forsake the work of the translators of 300 and more years ago" and this seems to be proved by the predominating sales of the Authorised Version, but that is no reason why individuals should not consult the Revised Version or any other modern translations, where archaisms are removed, mistranslations corrected and emendations accepted. Curiously enough there seems to be no reference, either in the articles or in the advertisements, to the Variorum Bible which has concise "various Renderings and Readings from the best Authorities" at the foot of every page—an invaluable work. Brief reference is made to the forthcoming new translation of the Bible, but, adds Professor Driver: "*dies diem docet* and, when that appears, the need for yet another revision will perhaps already be looming on the horizon."

Later on, perhaps, let us hope this admirable Symposium may be published as a book. It is certainly worth a more permanent form than a fragile, though elephantine, supplement.

A VALUABLE WORK OF REFERENCE

The invaluable Book List for 1954, published by the Society for Old Testament Study, is now out. It contains 100 pages and can be obtained for 6s. or $1 from D. R. Ap-Thomas, Llansadwrn, Menai Bridge, Anglesey. Thirty-four contributors give short reviews of books in various languages by 350 authors on a dozen subjects, all connected with the Old Testament. This list cannot fail to be of the utmost value to all who wish to keep up-to-date in their knowledge of recent criticism. The fact that among the books reviewed are those (besides English and American) from Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Israeli, Italy, Japan, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, The Netherlands and Turkey, shows the interest taken in those countries in the Bible.

CHRONICLE

Convocation of Canterbury

MAY SESSIONS 1954

At the May group of sessions three subjects were introduced in Full Synod, in addition to the President's Address. The Bishop of Chichester moved that a joint committee be appointed to review the Resolutions concerning Relations with the Church of South India passed in May, 1950, and to report for the guidance of Convocation during 1955. This was passed by both Houses. The 1950 Resolutions were subject to review in five years and it is therefore necessary for the Convocations to decide whether to take further action or to continue the present regulations and postpone a final decision till later. The Bishop of Winchester reported on the progress of the new translation of the Bible, pointing out that this was an entirely fresh translation. He stated that about one third of the New Testament had been translated and was ready for final revision. This included the Gospels of St. Mark and St. John, and the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians and I. Corinthians. Five Old Testament books were ready for final revision: rather less progress had been made with the Apocrypha. It had been hoped to publish the whole work together, but it now seemed likely that the New Testament would be ready earlier than the rest and might be published separately. It would, however, be some years before the stage of publication was reached at all.

The Bishop of Birmingham, seconded by the Dean of Winchester, moved a Resolution concerning the Hydrogen Bomb. This Resolution stated that the House regarded the existence of the hydrogen bomb as a grievous enlargement of the evil inherent in all war and a threat to the basic obligations of humanity and civilization. It went on to declare that the nations can only be delivered by a general submission to the laws of God and rejection of physical force as an instrument of national policy, and called upon all statesmen to make a new beginning by agreeing on such limitations, reductions and control of armaments as may remove immediate threats of war and encourage the return of mutual confidence; and summoned all Christian people in their prayers, thinking and spoken words to seek justice, righteousness and the love of God for the healing of the nations. This Resolution was subsequently passed by both Houses. In the Lower House a long and good debate took place in which, after the Dean of Chichester had unsuccessfully moved to omit the third section, calling upon statesmen to seek agreement on limitation of armaments, the Archdeacon of Stoke moved an amendment to delete Clause 2 which stated that statesmen cannot separate consideration of the hydrogen bomb from that of other weapons of war, and to substitute a statement that the use of this weapon would be sin and that the House called upon all Christians to refuse to co-operate in its manufacture and use. After sympathetic consideration of this point of view, the House ultimately passed the original motion.

In the Upper House the chief business, apart from the Resolutions on South India and the Hydrogen Bomb, was consideration of A Form of Prayers for the Family and a Form of Blessing upon the Adoption of a Child, and Canon Law Revision. The House made a number of amendments in the two Forms, which were then sent to the Lower House; but the Lower House, having found difficulty in accepting the Forms as they stood and being an unsuitable assembly for re-drafting them, decided to remit them for the consideration of York Convocation. In connection with Canon Law revision, the most important matters considered were Canon 13 " Of Lawful Authority ", and Canon 65 " Of the Hearing of Confessions ". The former Canon was presented in a redrafted form, which incorporated the decisions of the Church Assembly in its debate on Church and State. The changes were mainly in Clause 1 (c), which concerns the delegation by Parliament of power to the Convocations to permit deviations from the Book of Common Prayer under certain conditions, provided that there is a majority of not less than two thirds in favour in each House of the Convocations and in the House of Laity, and that the sanction shall be for a period of not more than seven years. This Canon was passed by the Upper House, with certain amendments in Clause 1 (e) which concerns minor and unimportant adaptations carried out by a Minister in his discretion according to particular circumstances. The Lower House agreed all the clauses of this Canon except 1 (e), of which consideration was adjourned until the next group of sessions. Canon 65 was passed by the Upper House with slight amendment of Clause 1, so that it read " Whereas it is *provided* than any with a troubled conscience *may* resort to some discreet and learned Minister of God's Word ". The Canon was subsequently discussed in the Lower House but referred back to the Steering Committee for reconsideration of a number of points raised. The Upper House agreed to the Lower House version of Resolution 2 on Relations with the Churches of Norway, Denmark and Iceland, passed last October.

In addition to these matters the Lower House discussed a Resolution on Prayers with those who have contracted Civil Remarriage after Divorce. It ultimately felt unable to commit itself to supporting the Upper House, but instead asked for a joint committee to consider all problems arising out of the pastoral responsibility of the Church for those who have contracted civil remarriage after divorce. This request was accepted by the Upper House. The Lower House also discussed Canon 128 " Of Diocesan Synods ", passing a completely new version of its own which the Upper House subsequently rejected, and Canon 129 " Of Ruridecanal Chapters ", which was referred back to the

Steering Committee. It also passed a Resolution asking for a committee to revise the existing regulations for the Interchange of Preachers, but the Upper House considered that the time was not opportune for such a committee. A Resolution suggesting that business might be carried out in Full Synod was passed unanimously by the Lower House and warmly welcomed by the Upper House. Finally, a motion asking the Lower House to approve the adoption in certain churches of the " Westward position " at Holy Communion, was " not put ", as the House was unwilling to commit itself on the matter.

In conclusion it may be mentioned that a book showing the present position of Canon Law Revision, entitled "The Revised Canons of the Church of England Further Considered ", has just been published by the S.P.C.K. (9s. 6d.), and they have also published a leaflet of certain generally important Regulations and Resolutions of Convocation (price 9d.).

A. F. SMETHURST.

THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES AND ITS WORK AMONG REFUGEES

I HAVE worked for a year with the W.C.C. in Salzburg and I should like to sum up what I learned there, first about the society and then about the refugees.

Many Christians are feeling today that of all earth's ills the greatest is the lack of unity within Christ's Body, the Church. Six years ago at Amsterdam the World Council of Churches came into being as a solid witness to a pagan world that we Christians *are* sorry for our dis-unity and do want to stand by each other as far as we can. The 147 member-Churches represent every main Christian tradition except the Roman Catholic. The bond between them has stood firm, expressing itself in prayer, fellowship and service; although in many cases the doctrinal gulf still remains unbridged. Now, this summer, in Evanston, U.S.A., representatives are meeting from all over the world, even from behind the Iron Curtain, to think the question of unity through further and, we hope, re-affirm the covenant made at Amsterdam.

After a year's work among people of many Confessions, divided from each other's worship into little water-tight compartments, this great conference on unity seems to me an event of very vital importance to the life of the Church—one which all lovers of the Church ought to learn about and pray about. "Nisi Dominus frustra . . ." Our prayers for the Holy Spirit's presence among the delegates are perhaps the greatest service we can do for the Church and for our unhappy world of 1954.

But how do refugees fit into the W.C.C. pattern? Simply because they are there, and in them the Churches see their Lord, hungry, homeless, sick in mind and body, and try to help him. For six years an intricate network of inter-Church aid, administered through and in co-operation with local churches, has unobtrusively lit candles in the dark places of the earth. In the cheerless D.P. camps of Austria and Germany and the teeming squatters' huts of Hong-Kong; among up-rooted Arab multitudes and the ruins of agonised Korea, Christians are at work, building up what is so terribly cast down. News streams in from all quarters. Here self-help projects have been begun, here a rehabilitation-programme embarked on. Here a “milk-station” keeps starving people alive from day to day. Here war-mutilated children are fitted with artificial limbs and encouraged to take an interest in life again. I can speak with personal knowledge of the hope brought to countless bewildered and heart-sick folk through our emigration-offices where they find not only practical assistance but friendship and that typically Christian willingness to “go the second mile” for love’s sake.

It takes first-hand experience to understand the bitterness behind the word “refugee”. Statistics cannot fire the imagination, and the far countries of the earth seem all too comfortably remote from our absorbing little cares and worries. Yet the suffering goes on, however much we close our eyes.

It is the glory of the W.C.C. that it has chosen to open its eyes and stretch out its hands. The pathetically limited resources at its disposal are a challenge to Christian people to help it in every possible way, not the least of which is by obtaining accurate information and then consulting our consciences.

JOYCE BIDDELL.

International Association for the Study of the History of Religions Great Britain Section

The International Association for the Study of the History of Religions which has grown out of the several History of Religions Congresses held in different European capitals over the past half-century (Paris 1900, Bale 1904, Oxford 1908, Leyden 1912, Lund 1927, Brussels 1935, Amsterdam 1950) has a number of affiliated national sub-associations. Professor R. Pettazzoni of Rome, the president, and Professor C. J. Bleeker of Amsterdam, the secretary, are anxious that Great Britain should not be unrepresented. A British section has, therefore, been formed; and it is hoped that British scholars interested in the history of religions and its kindred studies will join. Would they please write to the Rev. D. W. Gundry, Neuadd Reichel, University College of North Wales, Bangor, as soon as possible?

Members of the Association may obtain the new journal of the history of religions, *Numen*, for a reduced subscription of 16 Dutch florins (approximately 30s. 0d.) instead of the full rate of 20 florins. They are also cordially invited to attend the VIIIth History of Religions Congress to be held at Rome from 17 to 23 April, 1955.

E. O. James.
D. W. Gundry.

Transubstantiation and Sacrifice

By F. C. LONG

In the early centuries Christian writers spoke definitely and confidently about the Holy Eucharist. There is little or no suggestion of it constituting in their minds a problem, or even a challenge to belief beyond what is the challenge of the Christian faith in general. From the ninth century, or perhaps somewhat earlier, it became a topic of controversy in the Church. In what sense is the consecrated bread the Body of Christ, the consecrated wine his Blood? The term Transubstantiation seems to have come into use in the twelfth century, and first received authoritative sanction in 1215 (IV Lateran Council). But it was St. Thomas of Aquin (*c.* 1270) who gave the term a clear and precise definition, which has remained definitive in the Roman Catholic Church. Later Roman theologians have elaborated St. Thomas's doctrine variously, and sometimes fantastically; and the statement in our Article XXVIII that it " hath given occasion to many superstitions ", cannot be historically gainsaid. But to the doctrine as expounded in the *Summa Theologica,* whatever its defects, it is absurd to apply the word " superstitious ". In fact, it exposes and rebuts many superstitions current not only in the thirteenth century but to-day, and that not only among Romans but with a certain type of Anglican. In this paper it is exclusively of the Thomist concept (as I understand it) that I shall use the term. Its importance to us lies in the fact that ever since St. Thomas's day it has been difficult to consider eucharistic doctrine except in terms of acceptance or elaboration of the Thomist doctrine on the one hand, or of watering it down or rejecting it on the other. But in the early ages the Eucharist was understood without reference to the notion, one way or the other; and it is to that understanding that we must try to get back.

To St. Thomas the problem arose from the words, " This is my Body ", "This is my Blood". Its solution seemed to lie in precisely determining the meaning of "This" on the one hand, of "my Body", "my Blood" on the other. The plain and fully acknowledged fact is that after consecration " This " retains all the spatial and sensible qualities, all the possibility of physical and chemical reaction with the natural world that it had as ordinary bread or wine before consecration. But the Christian must believe that " This " is rightly called, and therefore " is " the Body, the Blood, of Christ. Now that which truly " is " the Body of Christ, answers to the definition of " the Body of Christ ", which in turn is what is meant by saying that it has the " substantial form " thereof, which again implies that its " substance " is the " substance " of Christ's Body. All this is accurately expressed in the logical terminology of the Scholastics by saying that the substance of the bread has been changed into the substance of the Body (and likewise in regard to the wine), only the accidents remaining unchanged. But (and here is my point) this result is purely analytical. No new fact has been elicited, no theory or even hypothesis propounded. The problem has merely been translated from ordinary speech into the technical terminology of scholastic logic. The question has not been answered; we have merely been shown how to ask it in other words. But the illusion has been produced of having said something significant and important that was not said in the other mode of expression.

This illusion is deepened by two assumptions: one explicit, the other implicit—if he anywhere attempts to prove them, I have overlooked it. The first is that this sacrament is completed (*perficitur*) in the consecration of the matter, in contrast with other sacraments which are only completed in the use of the matter. This is contrary to the fact that obedience to the Lord's command is only completed in the use: " Take, eat; drink ye all of this ". The second assumption is that there is effected some change in the bread and wine in and by themselves, apart from any relation to the worshippers and the Church in general; from which it follows that the change must be effected instantaneously at the appropriate moment. For it is absurd, as he rightly points out, to suppose either that at some stage there is a mixture of bread and the Body, or that there is an intermediate state which is neither the one nor the other.

What Aquinas overlooked, or at least did not examine adequately in his analysis of the words, is the meaning of the copula, " is ". Roman Catholic controversialists like to persuade us that they are taking the " is " in its literal sense. The word " is " has a variety of meanings in common use; but in no other context does it bear the meaning they put upon it. Neither St. Thomas nor his disciples nor anyone else takes it literally here. The question is: In what sense did the Lord use it when he said, "This is My Body"? The clue to this question may be found in the absence of controversy on the subject in the early ages. This is due to the fact that the notion of *sacrifice* which later on was unfamiliar and needed an explanation which was for long not forthcoming, was at first so clear and familiar as to constitute all the explanation needed. And most of the controversy of the last twelve centuries has arisen from the general acceptance of the wrong explanation by even the most strongly opposed parties. As long as the notion of a sacrifice was familiar, first from the temple worship, then too and long after from heathen rites, the description of the Eucharist in terms of sacrifice sufficiently explained its nature and meaning. When other sacrifices were things of far away and long ago, the traditional sacrificial language about the Eucharist was just what called for explanation. St. Thomas (as others before and since) said that it was both sacrament and sacrifice; but to him the sacrifice threw no light upon the sacrament. There is in him little or no trace of the later absurdities against which the Reformers had to protest so strongly (as that Christ is slain anew by the priest at every celebration), the wilder forms of which are no longer held by Roman theologians. What he says of the sacrifice is mainly based on St. Augustine, who understood the subject. But it is for St. Thomas a tradition to be accepted, not (as it should have been) the solution of his problem, and the whole significance of the rite.

Discussions on the Eucharist still too commonly assume that the meaning of sacrifice is clear and unambiguous. Actually there are two absolutely contrary and irreconcilable meanings, each with a twofold application. As a constituent of real religion, sacrifice is nothing other than *the surrender of oneself to God to be changed by him and made fit for his purposes.* This is fundamental to all real religion, not only to Judaism and Christianity. And in accordance with this meaning any ceremony can be called a sacrifice which symbolizes this self-surrender with a view to providing an occasion and help to practising it. These meanings we may distinguish as true spiritual sacrifice and true ceremonial sacrifice respectively. But fallen man revolts against this demand of God, and seeks to find some substitute that God will accept instead.

He refuses to be "reconciled to God" and demands that God be reconciled to him by abating his demands and accepting something less costly than self-surrender. Whether man merely holds back part, or puts the outward observances of religion (sacrificial or otherwise) in place of obedience and righteousness, or employs someone who claims to have a "pull" in the heavenly courts to obtain preferential treatment for him, he in one way or another tenders to God a *substitute* for the true sacrifice God demands. Thus arises the notion of vicarious or superstitious sacrifice, which is primarily a wrong inward disposition of the heart, but which commonly finds expression in the devising of false, or the misusing of true, ceremonial sacrifices.

Corresponding to true sacrifice, a priest is one who, having offered his own sacrifice of himself and been accepted, is sent by God to help others to do likewise; such is the scriptural meaning of "priest". In contrast to this is the extreme superstitious notion of a priest as one who, by means of killing an innocent victim, secures favours from a god who is bent on slaughter.

The sacrifices of the Old Law were in meaning and intention true ceremonial sacrifices. In particular, the pascal sacrifice required the worshippers to offer their own lamb, which they slew and brought to the priest, laying their hands on it, thereby saying in symbol, "*This is my body* which I offer to God". The priest did not leave it there and offer something else instead; he laid it upon the altar to be joined with the rest of the offerings and sanctified by the sacred fire, and so become part of the one accepted offering. Hence the ensuing feast was much more than the closer union of the worshippers with their own declared purpose of obeying God; it cemented their union with the whole People of God, and made them partakers of the whole of God's grace and promises given to his people.

So it was that on the evening which began the day on which the passover must be killed, the Lord instituted the New Passover. He accepted at the hands of his disciples the gifts that at his bidding they had prepared for the passover, gifts that meant themselves offered to him, their "bodies" awaiting his blessing in order that they might be fitted to be presented by him to God. He gave thanks and blessed God over the gifts, thereby offering a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; which, rather than a sin offering, is the highest form of sacrifice (and the most rewarding) just because it gives all and asks nothing in return. (What on earth do people mean by the " only " when they say " The Eucharist is *only* a sacrifice of thanksgiving "? Is it that it is an insincere profession of a sacrifice that they are resolved not to offer?) Then, having thus presented to God the disciples' gifts, he gave them back to them, saying, " This is My Body ", signifying that what they had offered he had accepted to be (not added to, but) incorporated in his one self-offering, that they might henceaforth through his indwelling presence share in his priestly work of bringing men to God.

So in the Eucharist: the new Israel of God, who have been in baptism transubstantiated into members of Christ, children of God and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, offer themselves under the species of bread and wine, in order that what they already are " in substance " they may become also in the " accidents " of life and conduct and character. In the Offertory the bread and wine, offered separately, " *are* " ourselves, our bodies and souls, not as we are in and by ourselves, vile and sinful, but as we are in Christ by baptism. As the paschal lamb was slain before it was brought to be offered at the Temple, so we are to make ready our passover by dying to sin through repentance and faith before we come to the Eucharist. As presented and accepted on the altar the bread and wine are therefore Christ's members crucified with him, corresponding to his Body already slain and laid in the sepulchre. By " consecration " those same elements, at once ourselves as offered to God in Christ, and Christ as having laid down his life for us, are transformed by the operation of the Holy Ghost into the body and blood of Christ risen and glorified and made our Great High Priest. In communion he that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead quickens even our mortal bodies through his Spirit dwelling in us, making us partakers both of the power of his resurrection and of his priestly work of bringing men to God.

It is significant that in every liturgy consecration is by prayer—the Prayer, or the Offering (*Anaphora*) as it was anciently called. Dom Gregory Dix asks in some perplexity what is the purpose of the Prayer. The answer is so obvious that it has escaped him; the purpose is simply *to pray*. We cannot consecrate anything; all we can do is to bring our offering to God and ask him to consecrate it. The purpose of the actual wording of the prayer is not to inform God, but to help priest and people to unite intelligently in offering the prayer that the occasion requires. Two points are focal, even though neither constitutes a " moment of consecration ": first to mark the rite as definitely that which the Lord ordained; and this is most conveniently (but not universally) done by reciting the record of the institution; and second to ask that God may sanctify our offering so that we may be partakers of Christ's Body and Blood; and though it is not indispensable to say so expressly, it is fitting to ask that it may be done by the Holy Ghost, the Sanctifier, as is expressed in many liturgies.

And what of our own Liturgy? Cranmer was obsessed by the need to emphazise the truth that the Eucharist is not a vicarious sacrifice; and to that end he broke up the Prayer into parts which he rearranged in a new order. But he could not (without making it unrecognizable as the Lord's ordinance) make it not to be a true ceremonial sacrifice. The present order is only intelligible as a Eucharist, a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, by dwelling on the essential oneness of the whole rite from the Offertory to the Prayer of Oblation, and supposing that what was omitted in its proper place has been stuck in later as an afterthought. Nevertheless, it has a structure of its own. He has made of it not a Eucharist, but a Sacrifice *περὶ ἁμαρτίας*. Again and again the theme of sin, repentance, forgiveness, recurs. As such it deserves all the admiration for beauty, for devotional intensity and for scriptural character that it has received. But it remains what it has to a large extent proved in practice: a service at which the more devout can find help to deepen their devotion by a renewal of penitence; and at the end it leaves us hoping for mercy in the future rather than rejoicing in mercy past, present and to come. Though it contains (even if sometimes rather vestigially) all the essentials of a Eucharist, it is itself rather a service of preparation for the true Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, with its note of self-forgetting exultation in all God's work of creation, redemption and glorification, that the Eucharist once was, and never should have ceased to be.

Bishop Hamilton

By BRIAN TAYLOR

"FROM the time that the Tractarians began to attract attention until Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister in 1869 (*sic*), with the exception of Walter Kerr Hamilton, Bishop of Salisbury 1854-1869, no High Churchman was made a bishop, while many who became bishops were open and avowed opponents of Tractarianism and all its works."[1]

Hamilton might well have become one of the leaders of the Tractarian movement. Instead he deliberately chose to devote his energies to pastoral work, with the result that one of the more remarkable of Victorian Churchmen has been almost forgotten. A short review of his life may not be out of place in the centenary year of his consecration.

Walter Kerr Hamilton was born in London on November 16, 1808. He was the elder son of Anthony Hamilton, later Archdeacon of Taunton. His mother, Charity Graeme, was a daughter of the physician to the Prince Regent, Sir Walter Farquhar. William Addison writes that but for Trollope's assurance that he had never met an archdeacon before he conceived Dr. Grantly, he would have thought that the Rector of Plumstead Episcopi was a portrayal of Anthony Hamilton.[2] He was Rector of Loughton, in Essex, 1805-1851, and also Prebendary of Wells, 1810; Rector of St. Mary-le-Bow, with St. Pancras Soper and All Hallows, Honey Lane, 1820; Archdeacon of Taunton, 1827; Canon Residentiary of Lichfield, 1831, and Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the King, Librarian of St. Martin's Library, and Parish Clerk of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. None the less, he did not neglect Loughton, where he rebuilt the church and built a school.

Walter began his education at a private school, going to Eton in January, 1822. "At Eton, I was a thoroughly idle boy, but I was saved from worse things by getting to know Gladstone."[3] "But I first learnt what work meant when I was sent as a private pupil to Arnold." After four years at Eton Hamilton was sent to Dr. Arnold at Laleham, to be prepared for Oxford. At the end of the year Arnold wrote to Walter's father: " I have nothing to say on your son's final departure from Laleham, except to repeat what I have had the pleasure of telling you before, that I never had a pupil who improved his time better, and to whom I felt more indebted for his constant attention to my wishes, and for many instances of peculiar personal civility." Arnold, indeed, inspired him with intellectual and moral interests of the highest order, and Bishop Hamilton was to the last grateful to his great master, and jealous of the honour of his name and memory.

Hamilton went up to Christ Church in January, 1827, and was elected to a studentship in the following December. Gladstone, who had been his friend at Eton, and who was to remain that all his life, joined him at the House in 1828. Hamilton took his degree (1st cl. lit. hum.) in 1830. At Easter, 1832, he was elected fellow of Merton, where he settled, after travelling to Rome. At Merton he found Edward Denison, with whom he was to be linked in work and sympathy until the end of Denison's life.

Hamilton was made deacon at Trinity, 1833, and ordained priest in the following December. For a year he was curate at Wolvercote, where Denison had been, and then went to be Denison's curate at St. Peter-in-the-East, Oxford, at Michaelmas, 1834. At the same time he became a prebendary of Wells. When Denison became Bishop of Salisbury, in 1837, his parishioners petitioned that the curate might succeed him, so Hamilton became Vicar of St. Peter-in-the-East.

Like many of the Tractarians, Hamilton was brought up in the Evangelical tradition. He continued in this until after his ordination, but during his Oxford ministry he became dissatisfied. " He felt the yearnings of his own heart for a moral ideal higher than the conventionalized piety around him, and, together with this, for the deepest and most absolute religious truth." He found these among the followers of the Oxford Movement. It is certain that " the first attraction to the Oxford School was ethical and spiritual rather than doctrinal; that the Movement appealed to a desire to lead a holy life rather than to any craving to fill up gaps which the ' reason of faith ' could not but detect in an imperfect creed. The intellectual or dogmatic interest came later." Once attracted towards the Tractarians, Hamilton became distressed at the bitterness with which many Evangelicals opposed them. It was not until after he became Vicar of St. Peter's that he definitely allied himself to the Tractarians, but his feeling in that direction may be shown by his attending the consecration of Littlemore church in September 22, 1836.[4]

With the change in the vicar the tone of St. Peter's changed too. The atmosphere was more restrained. Hamilton's sermons had always attracted a large following.[5] It is significant that this did not dwindle, but increased, rather, as he began to give simple teaching of doctrine and the sacraments. As well as children, adult people from both university and town attended the Sunday afternoon catechism to receive his instruction. A daily afternoon service was started, which Newman attended frequently, if not daily. This parish always retained a large place in Hamilton's affections. The year after he left it, he published for his former parishioners a book of prayers, *Morning and Evening Services for every day in the week*.[6]

When Edward Denison went to Salisbury in 1837 he made Hamilton one of his examining chaplains, the duties of which were carried out with great care. In 1841 the bishop summoned him to leave Oxford to become treasurer of Salisbury Cathedral. With a heavy heart he went, and stayed there for the remainder of his life. At first he was very dissatisfied; he could not see that there was any work for him. When his close friend, Mrs. Denison, died in the September of the same year, he almost decided to return to Oxford, but was dissuaded from doing so by the bishop, who regarded him as indispensable. Denison's aim was that he should bring new life to the cathedral. This was made possible when, after a short while, Hamilton relinquished the treasurer's office for that of precentor.

At first his reforms were chiefly concerned with the music, though he was not naturally a musician. The tradition at Salisbury was that during the first lesson at Morning and Evening Prayer a chorister approached the dean, or senior canon, who then chose the setting and anthem. The boy communicated these to the choir and organist, occasionally not without error, with unhappy results. If the lesson was short, or if the dignitary was lengthy in his deliberation, then there was a pause.[7] The new precentor put an end to this system, and chose all the anthems, as well as the chants, himself.

Hamilton resided continually in Salisbury, and regularly attended all the cathedral services throughout the year. He objected to the practice of canons having livings where they spent the greater part of the year, leaving their duties to the vicars choral.[8] A canon, he considered, should devote all his attention to his cathedral duties. In 1847 Hamilton revived the early morning service at 7.30. This was in addition to Morning Prayer at a later hour, and he took it himself. In 1849 the weekly 8 o'clock celebration on Sundays was established. Hamilton normally conducted this, and continued to do so when he was bishop. He preached on most Sundays and on every Holy Day.

Hamilton had great ambitions to convert the cathedral into an effective house of prayer. Many of his hopes are embodied in his *Letter on Cathedral Reform* (1853) to Harry Parr Hamilton (Dean, 1850-1880). The essential and first need, as he saw it, was for a chapter that was united and permanently resident. Each canon and vicar choral would be allotted other local or diocesan duties, but their prime duty was to be to the cathedral, and their place of work was to be Salisbury. There should be frequent additional services and instructions. Hamilton was eager that financial arrangements should be made to " enable us to leave all parts of the cathedral, as well as the nave, open to any person who may come there to see it, or, what is better, to worship in it." As always, the claims of education were near to him. He wished the chapter to set up infants' and junior schools. With regard to the choir school, he wanted provision to be made " both for the continuation of the choristers' education when their voices break, and also for giving a gratuitous education to other poor scholars in this city." He hoped that the chancellor would also be the headmaster of this school.

The cathedral and its reform did not exhaust Hamilton's energies, however. He was the active secretary of the training college for women teachers at Salisbury. One of his ambitions was to establish a closer relationship between the clergy of the Close and the city. He often preached in St. Thomas's. All charitable enterprises found in him a ready supporter; he was mainly responsible for the establishment of penitentiaries at Oxford and Salisbury. In 1849 the cholera epidemic visited Salisbury, and Hamilton accompanied the bishop in his tireless visiting of the sick, until his own ill health compelled him to go abroad.

Throughout his ordained life Hamilton persisted in regular theological reading, especially of the Bible and the Fathers. His study convinced him in the Tractarian position. When he went to Salisbury in 1841 he left behind him any idea of becoming one of the leaders in the ecclesiastical controversies. His task was to put Tractarian principles into practice, a less prominent but equally important vocation. Those controversies in which he was involved arose from his work. The secessions to Rome, notably that of Newman in 1845, disturbed him. He appreciated the difficulties to be faced in the Church of England, but he could not agree that they could in any way lessen the errors of the Roman Church, of which he had no doubts. He said of Newman that he " could not help thinking that Newman might have been saved to us if he had been treated with more consideration." Manning's submission (1851) distressed him far more, partly because of the disturbing nature of the immediate cause (the Gorham Judgement), and partly because they were old friends; they had become fellows of Merton in the same year.[9]

In 1845, Hamilton married Isabel Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Lear, Dean of Salisbury.

On March 6, 1854, Bishop Denison died. From his deathbed, he dictated a letter to the Prime Minister (Lord Aberdeen) asking that Hamilton should be his successor. Aberdeen was anxious that this should be so, but Denison's letter greatly embarrassed him; there was clearly a danger of establishing a precedent. Three times he offered the see to Dr. John James Blunt, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Blunt declined on account of his age (he was born in 1794). Then the Prime Minister nominated Hamilton, who was consecrated by Archbishop Sumner at Lambeth, on May 14, 1854.

As bishop, Hamilton was as constantly in his diocese as he had been when precentor. " He drew a line, trenchant and deep, between the spiritual essence and the temporal accidents of his office," and after the first year of his episcopate, when he was chaplain to the House of Lords, he rarely took his seat in the Upper House. " We clergy have enough work to do in bringing men to know and love God, against the bent and bias of their nature, without making our task more difficult by enlisting against ourselves any of the great sections of political feeling."

From his time at Laleham onwards Hamilton took a full part in social activities. He naturally, therefore, mixed freely with clerical and lay society in Wiltshire and Dorset. This, however, did not exhaust his hospitality. The poor as well as the rich were received at his table. Whenever it was possible a number of poor people were invited to dinner on Sundays. His Epiphany dinner was well known, when he entertained a hundred of the poorest inhabitants of the Salisbury parishes. While the bishop was liberal in hospitality he was frugal in his personal expenditure. The few alterations that he made to the Palace were more for the convenience of his servants than for his own comfort. He kept a carriage only at the beginning of his episcopate.

Bishop Denison had begun the practice of holding local confirmation services. Hamilton increased the number, and took great pains over preparing for them. At each he delivered two lengthy sermons.

Bishop Hamilton endeavoured to raise the standard of the academic and spiritual requirements in ordinands. All his candidates were expected to know some Hebrew. Denison had had similar aims, and in 1841 had suggested the founding of a theological college. Hamilton carried this to fulfilment in 1860. At first the college was merely an institute for lectures and tuition. Hamilton knew, however, that until the students could live together in the college they would lack the desired fellowship of prayer, and so he laboured to bring this about.

Hamilton's enthusiasm for the greater prayerfulness of his ordinands was the natural result of his own devout life of regular public and private worship. Whenever possible he attended the early morning service in the cathedral. Prayers in the Palace chapel were at 8.45 a.m. and 10 p.m. The bishop was vigorous in intercession, and, in his last illness, devoted at least two hours a day to prayer for his diocese—remembering several parishes every day.

The growth of the retreat movement was regarded with mistrust by most English people, having been misrepresented and misunderstood. In the Charge of 1864 the bishop commended retreats to his clergy for consideration. In the following year he himself attended one conducted by T. T. Carter. " I had formed great hopes of what it might be; but the reality far exceeded them: and I heartily wish that all my clergy would have the same opportunities for good." He went into retreat during each of the following three years.

It has already been noticed that Bishop Hamilton rarely attended the House of Lords. He did not use his spiritual position as a means of taking part in temporal affairs. There were times, however, when he felt bound to be present, as, for example, when, in 1857, he assisted in the opposition to the Divorce Bill. The grounds of his opposition were not only that Christian doctrine was being attacked, but that Parliament was not a fit assembly to debate matters of doctrine. " I look upon the Act of last year as a most fatal thing for the Church. The same power might proceed to enact a new Article of the Creed. Unless we resist these encroachments on God's Book, it is hopeless for us to expect that God will bless the ministrations of the Church." Some thought this too strong language, but he went on: " The clergy may be called upon to marry persons who are already married. Now I should advise my clergy to run all risks than marry one of these people . . . . . . now the law of the State is at variance with the law of the Church."

Such issues as this raised the question of disestablishment, which Hamilton viewed with concern as an evil for the State, though he considered that the Church would derive little harm. He welcomed the first Lambeth Conference of 1867 as demonstrating, by the presence of bishops from outside the Empire, that the Anglican Church has a separate existence from the State.

Hamilton was more active in Convocation. " His general attitude as to public Church questions was cautious, conservative, deprecatory of hasty action, yet at the same time unflinching in the statement of his own principles,—not as being his own, but those of the Church of Christ."

In his diocese the bishop was eager to learn the opinion of the clergy on questions concerning the Church at the moment. He sent around subjects for discussion at ruridecanal chapters and carefully examined the reports. Of these chapters he approved, but he did not care for the growing popularity of diocesan conferences. There was a danger of a lay vote on doctrinal matters.

Hamilton issued frequent pastoral letters to the diocese. He fulfilled from 1855 the episcopal obligation of holding a triennial visitation. The five charges that he delivered were all printed.

When he became a bishop Hamilton did not lose interest in the two causes so dear to him—education and the reform of Salisbury Cathedral. As diocesan he valued his confirmation visits to two great public schools, Marlborough and Sherborne, with the opportunities of addressing the boys. The bishop was anxious that the grammar schools should be improved, and that their system of education should be more specifically Christian. He was a supporter of the Woodard Schools movement.

The fabric of the cathedral had come to give cause for concern. Hamilton had encouraged Bishop Denison to restore the cloisters, and now he set in hand the restoration of the chapter house. But it was not only the structure of the church that interested the bishop. He wanted it to be much more used. In his Charge of 1858 Hamilton commended the Dean and Chapter of Westminster for holding services with sermons in the abbey nave on Sunday evenings. In 1861 the Diocesan Choral Association held its festival in the nave at Salisbury—the first service to be held there for eighty years.[10] The bishop preached on this occasion. Some time later the Sunday afternoon service was transferred to the nave.

A subject to which the bishop gave much thought and prayer was the unity of the Church. At the time of his consecration he said that " he regarded this great object as a thing to be prayed and toiled for throughout his episcopate ", and at the end of his life he said, " For many years I have looked forward to, and prayed for, the reunion of Christendom." He wished for greater unity within the Church of England, and a drawing towards it of the separated bodies. He thought that he saw signs of this happening when he received from a dissenter the offer of assistance towards the cost of the proceedings against Dr. Williams. He was very moved to hear that in his last illness nonconformists of his diocese were praying for him. In a wider field he supported the Eastern Church Association (founded in 1864), and approved of Dr. Pusey's tentative moves for discussion with Rome. Hamilton deplored the bitterness that prevailed on both sides in the relations between English Roman Catholics and Anglicans.

In liturgical matters the bishop's policy was conservative. He opposed all proposals of alterations to the Book of Common Prayer—even to the Lectionary—on the grounds that change was unnecessary and that it would probably be for the worse. Hamilton scrupulously followed every direction of the Prayer-book (he read, for example, an exhortation at every eucharist) and expected others to do so. " I am afraid of making a false conscience for myself in these matters; the rule of the Church is plain, and if it is once set aside by those who ought to administer it there is no limit, save that of their own caprice, to the irregularities into which men may rush."

He considered that an innovation, such as reading the Litany at any time other than after Morning Prayer on the appointed days, needed episcopal sanction. The keeping of the daily offices was of great concern to the bishop, and was urged frequently. He insisted that those whom he ordained should say the offices, privately or publicly.

Hamilton valued the bishop's *ius liturgicum,* and frequently issued prayers to be read on special occasions, as well as an office for the consecration of churches. He authorized for use in his diocese *The Salisbury Hymn Book,*[11] edited by the third Earl Nelson, assisted by John Keble.[12]

Those bishops who attacked "ritualism", yet who paid no attention to the almost universal neglect of the plain directions of the Church concerning, for example, the daily offices and the public administration of Holy Baptism (commended by Hamilton in the Charge of 1855, p. 38), were roundly criticized by the bishop. In the Charge of 1867 Hamilton pleaded for tolerance in ritual matters, and he protected those who were attacked, as he realized that this was often a cover for attacks on doctrine.

The bishop himself did not care for the reintroduction of forgotten ceremonial, though those who did found him generous. "I quite understand that it may be of the utmost value to the young and to the illiterate, and to a number of people who are neither young nor unlettered but who are differently constituted from myself." Hamilton used the pastoral staff that was presented to him and appreciated its symbolism. The bishop was unusual in his use of the cassock. He worked, mainly at letters and interviews, from breakfast until Evening Prayer in the cathedral. All that time he wore his cassock as a reminder of the "separate" nature of his work.[13]

It is difficult to assess Hamilton's effect on the services held in his diocese, especially as his episcopate was in a time of general improvement. Some figures, however, are available from his visitation returns. In 1855 there were in the diocese 556 churches and chapels, of which 181 had a monthly celebration of the Holy Communion. In 1867 the number has risen to 292. In 1858 two churches had a weekly celebration, and 24 in 1867. In 1867 the daily offices were read in ten churches, twice the figure of 1858.

Although Bishop Hamilton left the centre of ecclesiastical affairs when he went to Salisbury he was involved in two controversies deserving mention. In 1862 there was published a book that caused a considerable stir—*Essays and Reviews*. One of the papers in this book was by Dr. Rowland Williams, Vice-Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter, and also Rector of Broad Chalk in the diocese of Salisbury. He took for his subject " Bunsen's Biblical Researches ", and dealt with varying degrees of inspiration. " Williams discussed, in what even Stanley called a ' flippant and contemptuous tone ', those human elements in the Old Testament which are now all but universally recognized."[14]

After long deliberation Hamilton reluctantly brought an action against Dr. Williams—the only one of his life—for teaching erroneous doctrine. " I must take up this case, if, believing what I do, I am ever to lay my head down quietly on my pillow to die; but God knows how thankful I should be if it were otherwise." In December, 1862, the Arches Court of Canterbury pronounced in Hamilton's favour, on a reduced charge. Williams appealed to the Privy Council, however, and in February, 1864, his appeal was upheld, although both the archbishops dissented.

Two years later the events began that led up to the delivery of the bishop's last Charge. *The Times* of November 1, 1866, contained a capricious letter by one of Hamilton's clergy, belittling the nature of Anglican Orders. Hamilton answered this in a letter to *The Guardian*, recalling the formula used at a priest's ordination. *The Times* then, on November 11 and 13, renewed the argument. It was admitted that in the English Church there had always been some who had maintained a " high " view of the ministry, but it was held that these were not true to their calling. The clergyman must accept the general opinion of the people, and is " bound to study the convictions, the habits, even the prejudices of the country. . . . A clergyman, therefore, does not do his duty to the Church unless he brings himself into moral accord, so to speak, with his parishioners. . . . If he deliberately sets himself against the religious beliefs or the moral sentiments of the nation, of which he is to inform himself, he fails in his allegiance to the institution which he has contracted to support, and which can only live as long as it is the religious representation of the nation."

There followed a correspondence in which the weight of feeling was against Hamilton's position, but in which he took no part.

Although the bishop did not engage in the later stages of the correspondence he had not retired from the controversy. The almost explicit charge of dishonesty brought against him by *The Times* had persuaded him that something more than newspaper articles was needed from him. He determined to make a full statement of his theological position in his Charge of 1867. " My idea is to make a clean breast of it about the Real Presence, the Sacrifice, and Absolution." The bishop's last Charge was a masterly statement, which ran to several editions and which may still be read with profit.

Hamilton regarded the Church's sacramental system as an essential part of the Christian faith, which would be incomplete without it. He considered that the doctrine of the Real Presence is the only reasonable interpretation of the rubrics and prayers of our Communion Office. The way in which the Presence is brought about is not specified, though the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation is excluded by the twenty-eighth Article. " Adoration is not due to the consecrated bread and wine, although Christ our Lord, as Bishop Andrewes says, in or without the Sacrament is to be adored." Hamilton defended the reality of sacrifice in the Eucharist, explaining that it had been overshadowed by the stress on communion, with which the Reformers had sought to regain a proper balance, after the medieval over-emphasis on the sacrifice.

The bishop made one particular point which succeeding controversialists have not minded so carefully as they might. For its interpretation our liturgy must be studied in the light of the Restoration rather than of the Reformation. Essential doctrines were retained and emphasized against keen Puritan opposition. " As to Absolution the bishop simply insists upon the words of the Ordinal and the Visitation of the Sick in the English Prayer-book, taken in their natural and historical sense." " Our Church, whether she uses the declaratory, or optative, or precatory, or indicative form of Absolution, certainly teaches that her priests can exercise powers not entrusted to any layman, however saintly."

As might be expected, the Charge met with great opposition, culminating in a motion of censure by Lord Portman in the House of Lords. On November 22, 1867, the bishop replied to Lord Portman, in his last speech in the House. He maintained his position, declining to withdraw on any point. Shortly before his death Hamilton said to Liddon: " There are many things with which, on looking back upon my life, I have to reproach myself; but one of the few acts, for the grace and decision to resolve upon which, at this solemn time, I thank my God, was the delivery of my last Charge; and I wish you, if you have an opportunity, to say so."

The bishop's health deteriorated from about the time of Keble's death, but he did not allow it to interfere with his work until Easter, 1868. On the Wednesday in Holy Week he experienced great difficulty in breathing while taking his daily walk. After Easter he took a short holiday and then resumed his normal duties. In this he persevered, despite all entreaties, until the end of October, when he was obliged to seek medical advice. The condition of his heart made a complete rest essential. Until the new year he remained at Salisbury, but his illness became so grave that on January 3, 1869, he was removed to London, where he remained, at Claridge's and other addresses, until the end of July. While at Claridge's, on January 14, Hamilton suffered a severe cardiac-asthma attack, and was expected to survive it for only a few hours. At this time, as throughout his illness, he was attended by Liddon, who had become his examining chaplain in 1863. The bishop made a profession of faith, which Liddon received, and wrote down.[15] After the Nicene Creed he reaffirmed his faith in the position he adopted regarding the Church's doctrine. " My aim and object has been to vindicate for the Church of England her true position as a branch of the One Holy Catholic Church of Christ, faithfully holding the *whole* truth committed to the Church by our Lord and his Apostles."

Throughout the summer Hamilton remained in London. Mr. Gladstone, his friend at Eton and Oxford, was a frequent visitor. When he was sufficiently strong the bishop devoted his time to Bible study and acts of intercession and penitence. He received the Holy Communion as often as he was able. At the end of July Hamilton was carried back to Salisbury, at his own request, to die in his own home, in his own diocese, two days later, on August 1. Liddon was with him and " said the *De Profundis* and a commendatory prayer as he was dying."

Hamilton's grave is in the cloister garth, marked by a small stone.

✠
W. K. HAMILTON
EPIS : SARUM
1869

There are also buried his widow and three of their ten children, ncluding the two who predeceased him. The bishop is abundantly commemorated in the church, as Sir George Gilbert Scott's restoration of the choir was carried out as his memorial. The oak altar was given in his memory by many of those whom he had confirmed. Hamilton's monument is on the south side of the sanctuary, filling a bay of the arcade. It is " interesting as almost the last design prepared by Sir George Gilbert Scott, and one well worthy of its author."[16] The white marble effigy represents the bishop in vestments and holding a crozier. The cope, with its narrow orphrey, and the low mitre are in good English tradition, but they are worn over a fantastic rochet with lace at the skirt. The features are probably a near likeness, and bear a close resemblance to Richmond's portrait.[17] The inscription reads, on the south side:

+ GVALTERVS : KERR : HAMILTON : S : T : P : EPVS : SARVM : OBIIT : DIE : IMO : AVGVSTI : A : D : MDCCCLXIX : ÆTAT : LXI :

on the north side:

CVIVS : ANIMA : REQVIESCAT : IN : PACE :

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[1] C. P. S. Clarke: *The Via Media,* p. 174. Gladstone took office in December, 1868.

[2] *The English Country Parson,* p. 161.

[3] W. K. H., quoted in H. P. Liddon: *Walter Kerr Hamilton, Bishop of Salisbury—a Sketch, reprinted with additions and corrections from " The Guardian ", 1869,* from which and from *Life in Death: A Sermon Preached in Salisbury Cathedral on ...... the day after the Funeral of Walter Kerr Hamilton* by Liddon, printed with the *Sketch,* I have aken much information.

[4] *Vid.* a letter of Bloxham to Newman, September 23, 1866, quoted, R. D. Middleton: *Newman and Bloxham, an Oxford Friendship,* p. 35.

[5] Bloxham called him a " Popular Preacher " (letter to A. L. Phillips, April 18, 1842, quoted, R. D. Middleton, *op. cit.,* p. 138).

[6] Also published later in an abridged form in Dr. Hook's *Devotional Library,* 1855.

[7] From the recollections of John Harding, a choirboy from 1826, in D. H. Robertson: *Sarum Close,* p. 297f.

[8] W. K. H. for this reason declined the Rectory of Laughton, when his father died in 1851.

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[9] The reference to W. K. H. from Manning's *Autobiographical Note* (1883) (quoted in E. S. Purcell: *Life of Cardinal Manning,* Vol. p. 531f) is very muddled.

[10] It should be remembered that at that time the nave was separated from the choir by Wyatt's solid screen.

[11] 1857; a collection of 204 hymns, reissued, in a revised form, as the *Sarum Hymnal,* 1868. *Vid.* J. Julian: *A Dictionary of Hymnology* 1892.

[12] W. K. H. had a great affection for Keble and his poetry, and was very distressed when he died in 1866. W. K. H. heard his children " repeat to him the melodious words in which the Church's poet has set the thoughts that belong to each commemorated day." J. F. in the *Salisbury Journal,* August 7, 1869, quoted, *Liddon,* p. 142.

[13] For the use of the cassock see S. L. Ollard: *A Short History of the Oxford Movement,* pp. 182-3; also S. Baring-Gould: *The Vicar of Morwenstow* (new ed. 1899), p. 15.

[14] T. A. Lacey, in the *Dictionary of English Church History* (3rd ed 1948), p. 212.

[15] After W. K. H.'s partial recovery, he approved the document, with some verbal alterations. It is printed as an appendix to the *Sermon*

[16] Gleeson White, *Salisbury* (Bell's *Cathedral Series*), p. 68.

[17] Reproduced in S. L. Ollard: *A Short History of the Oxford Movement.* The original drawing is now in the possession of the present Dean of Salisbury, Bishop R. H. Moberly, Hamilton's grandson.

On A Study of Babylonian Religion

By SIDNEY SMITH

A STORY tells of the reaction of a student in a theological college to a book recommended as necessary for his education: " I have looked through it, there is no mention of God in it, it cannot instruct me ". Many who might not now put the point in that way probably have the same feeling. The references to paganism, in the New as well as in the Old Testament, induce a weary disgust. Laban's gods in Rachel's keeping on Jacob's camels, brazen calves, priests of Baal gashing themselves, Ahab's prophets playing games with horns, altars to unknown gods, Demetrius the silversmith making money out of Diana of Ephesus—there is a slightly familiar ring which disturbs the comforting thought that Christianity swept this nonsense away, for centuries an accepted truism, now displaced by the idea that infallible inferences from physical experiments have revealed eternal truth. The unfortunate point about the latter view is that the truth men hold by is always changing. The fact about the Old and the New Testament is that the Bible reader will remember passages, for example in the visions of Ezekiel or in the Revelation, in which there is a symbolism that posits a different context in which the nonsense had some meaning.

If a study of ancient religion in the lands of Semitic speech is undertaken, the sense of weariness returns four-fold. An exposure of the impostures of wicked priests, intent on their own interests, a prevalent theme in some modern manuals, is not alleviated by the use of the word theological; it is impossible to have any sympathy with the human masses who allowed their minds to be clogged by such stuff, though they were keen enough on other matters. If a pantheon was a mere aggregation of local gods, it does not seem necessary to say more. If the rise of some gods, the disappearance of others, was due to political circumstances, it is idle to search for intellectual adventure. If the popularity of Oriental gods in remote provinces of the Roman Empire, in soldiers' colonies, was merely a fashion, then there may be some analogy with belief in the atom as it was preached in rationalist circles in the late nineteenth century, but little more.

Over twenty years ago Professor Hooke secured the collaboration of other scholars in a volume of essays, *Myth and Ritua* which briefly summarized points in the religious literature an ritual practices of some ancient religions which seemed comparabl This was followed, two years later, by the essays in *The Labyrint* an essential continuation because it was more particularly directe to the interconnexion between earlier and later phases of expression, taking due account of development and change. Since the the interpretation of the texts from Ras esh Shamra, in a Semit language by no means satisfactorily classed as "Canaanite", produced Professor Hooke's Schweich Lectures, *The Origins of Earl Semitic Ritual,* a technical investigation with a view to the classification of types. In the last fifteen years a flourishing and influential school in Sweden has extended the comparative method, not infrequently by attempts to arrive at coherent ideas underlyin figures of speech: a difficult approach. Translations of myth written in the cuneiform script and the "Hittite" language, wit every indication of some dependence on, if not direct derivatio from, the unknown literature of a people who lived in the Taurus and Anti-Taurus region, the *Khurri,* are now available. The extension of comparative studies in a work by Mr. Gaster, *Thespis,* in which the author tends to interpret passages so that a comparison is justified, reveals one of the primary disabilities of our time, when more and more is known about less and less. Important fields of research, both general and special, are hampered either by the need for an impossibly wide range of knowledge or the dogmatism bred by restriction within narrow limits. Comparison does seem instructive.

There have been three lines of attack upon Professor Hooke's thesis, all of them directed against a method used in modern anthropology, rather than against the details involved. All three lines have points in common. One has come from the ranks of Old Testament scholars, and is a combination of the view which treats of societies and practices as if they existed in isolated area with a revolutionary view of the Hebrew calendar. It is alway possible, with sufficient ingenuity, to explain the development of the same phases in different lands as independent and self-explanatory. Recently a book set out to prove that the Greek names of the constellations and of the zodiacal signs were quite unrelated to the Babylonian names of the constellations, which in a few cases mean the same thing, and to the Babylonian recognition of the way of the sun; it has been praised but depends in part on mistakes. In so far as the new theory of the Hebrew calendar led to the comparison with Babylonian texts, use was made of a theory about different Babylonian forms of hemerology tacitly accepted as a fact; there was no reform of the Babylonian calendar by an Assyrian king in the seventh century.

Another line of attack can be summed up by two statements: " the folklorist who compares ' patterns ' can see only the typical, which matters little; he misses the individual, which is essential ", and " The ' patterns ' are postulates, and so is the belief that drama is always acted out myth." The addition that " the ' functionalist ' and ' patternist ' authors declare that a myth is merely the spoken accompaniment of ritual " is an attribution to the opponent of ideas he does not hold. Professor Hooke knows that there are aetiological myths apparently invented to explain existing phenomena. There are of course many types of myth. The myth inherent in the epithet of Aphrodite, " the foam-born ", did not require acting; it depended on the *chose vue,* if I may be allowed to use a language more precise than our own. What is known about a certain type of myth is, that the story it told gave man the power to induce desired results. Myths, we are told, have an intellectual content which ritual often lacks. The grandiose conception of the Epic of Creation, this argument continues, in which the Creator (elsewhere it is said that Marduk was *not* a Creator " in the absolute sense ") splits vanquished Chaos to shape Heaven and Earth is represented in a ritual by the cutting of a pigeon in two. One would have thought that this was a typical example of the relation of myth and ritual, of the expression of meaning by symbolical words and symbolical actions in which the significance of word or action is not limited to the normal. The critic reduces pagan religion to nonsense again.

Part of the argument depends upon the fact that we have myths and we have rituals, and it is rarely possible to show the connexion. Even in this matter there have been misstatements. The texts concerning Horus at Edfu are not folk stories but partly narrative, partly the words to be spoken by celebrants, partly explanations of story and ritual. One text from Ras esh Shamra has interjected clauses only intelligible as directions to persons who play no part in the story, but are obviously concerned in it.

Now Professor Hooke has given a short account of the essentials of one of the pagan religions. His book, *Babylonian and Assyrian Religion*,* is addressed to students of the Old Testament and to those interested in the comparative study of religions. In it, these controversies play no part, save in so far as he has cited the views of some of his critics to approve them; it is in such passages, I think, that there is the rare intrusion of individual interpretation Comparisons he does make, and every reader can test them for himself. There is no type of book which demands more care and labour than one of these introductions to a vast subject; this one fulfils a real need, for there is nothing in English comparable to the French and German manuals. Wide experience and historica understanding have led the author to omit without mention the wicked priests, those fictitious creatures of modern imagination used to explain the irrational, as medicine men are used to explain resistance to foreign control. In the present state of these studies, it will be possible to correct a point here or there, and even so the correction will be subject to renewed correction. As often as possible, the texts are allowed to appear in the sort of translation possible, or at present accepted. The book is a sober, compressed sketch which will enable readers to pursue their own inquiries.

It is not for me, who am without the equipment required in such a statement for the use of either Old Testament or anthropological students, to criticize, but to admire. The book has, however, presented an opportunity to think over the third line of attack on Professor Hooke's thesis about myth and ritual, because there is in it the positive affirmation not fully expressed in the first two lines already mentioned. " The comparative method is most valuable when it leads, not to the spurious equation, but to a more subtle distinction of similar features in different civilizations." " The differences between two countries enable us to define the particular character of each civilization." To this there is added a conclusion: " The problem of the survival of symbols does not differ essentially from the question of similarities in different religions; the survival of symbols is never mere continuity but continuity in change." The curious thing about the conclusion is that it consorts ill with the premisses, but is exactly the method used in Professor Hooke's collection of essays, which can now be compared with his introduction to the study of Babylonian religion.

*Hutchinson, 8s. 6d.

It has always been part of that thesis, if I have read aright, that there were, at the time of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, rites and festivals which are not essential to the Jewish religion. There are, in the Christian churches of many localities, survivals of practices known to be pagan in origin. Different sects in Islam accuse one another of deviation from the true faith because beliefs or practices are tolerated which the Prophet did not mention. One of these, for instance, is the practice of placing a portable flat stone to be touched by the forehead in prostrations, considered by some to be an act of the Unbelievers. The thesis of the " myth and ritual school "—a poor description—is, I take it, that to understand " survivals ", once they are admitted to be such, in contexts to which they have been adapted, we must look for the context in which they once had a logical place in a sequence. But it is not the conclusion which interests me; the premisses do, or rather the way they are used.

As his book will prove to the reader, Professor Hooke after a long lifetime has come to believe, much as the late Professor A. B. Cook after his labours on *Zeus* believed, that man through the ages has passed through stages, some of which are so gradual in change as to seem unworthy of remark, some so violent that they can be represented as complete breaks with the old. But always he has had to find a means of expression; once the expression is formulated it will lead to some direct reaction. Plato's Socrates, confounding a sophist, could count on a " Yes " in answer to his inquiry whether a god must not be good. That is the basis of the conversations in the book of Job too. But it is not the Babylonian conception, as can be seen from the pessimistic dialogues in which " the god ", any god, allows the good to suffer. What, then, was a god? Things were gods, both in Egypt and in Babylonia. In Egypt some gods had animal heads, in Assyria some gods had attendant animals. Is that one of the differences that by subtle distinction enable us to define the particular character of each civilization? In Egypt there was an ithyphallic god, in Babylonia an ithyphallic demon, an agent of the gods; similarity and dissimilarity are obvious, but is either good ground for reconstruction of the character of a civilization?

All that I can see, but do not comprehend, is the similarity in basic matters. How can dissimilarity exist, except within similarity? I do not know whether the dissimilarity indicates that one or the other conception, the god with the animal head or the god with the animal symbol, arises from " civilization " at all; it looks like a different symbolization of the same conception. The Egyptians had a myth—not a folk tale—about the destruction of man by Ra. The Babylonians had a myth about the destruction of men by Enlil. The stories differ. Is there no common point? What exactly does the dissimilarity imply? If there is no similarity, the answer can only be that dissimilarity indicates nothing at all. In both myths there seems to be a common point, in that the stories relate to the time when gods lived on earth among men.

The Hebrews, of course, knew, or rather their prophets knew, what pagan gods were: bits of trees or metal, the same stuff as could be useful in daily life (Isaiah xliv, 9-20). The pagans knew that too. Even so, in Egypt and in Babylonia there was a definite moment when the object became a god; in Egypt, the ritual was applied to the mummy, to a statue, to a shrine furnishing, in Babylonia only to a statue. The reader of Professor Hooke's book can compare the " Washing of the Mouth " ritual (pp. 116-9) with what stands in the companion volume, Professor Černý's *Ancient Egyptian Religion,* (pp. 103, 115). In the Egyptian ritual the moment was that of the opening of the mouth; in the Babylonian, the moment was that of the opening of the eye. Is the dissimilarity so characteristic, and if so, of what? All I can find is a conception, alike in both countries; the matter which becomes divine, that is, if a mummy, Osiris, if a stone, a god whose name is known, becomes a symbol of something that has entered from without. The similarity of conception seems obvious; idols are not merely what they seem. If they were, men would not have worshipped before them. The similarity is instructive, the dissimiliarity is not.

In the seventh month of the calendar year, the beginning of the civil year in Judah, on the 10th day there was a purification ceremony; from the 15th, for seven days there was a celebration during which people left their houses and lived in booths. In Egypt at the festival of Opet, Amen, the goddess Mut his consort, and the lunar god Khonsu left their temples at Karnak and went to Luxor. In the reign of Rameses III this festival started on the 19th day of the second Egyptian month, and lasted 27 days. At that time, about 1190 B.C. or a little later, the theoretical beginning of the year, the rising of Sirius occurred on the 1st day of the second Egyptian month, falling a day later every four years. A concourse of people accompanied the procession. At Babylon the New Year festival, of which the ceremonies,—described in a ritual, of which Professor Hooke gives a version,—took place ideally when the Bull was fully visible and the first stars of Aries were due to appear, was in Nisan. There were festivals of the same general kind, but not marking a new year, in other towns than Babylon, and in some towns there were two festivals, in Nisan and in Tishri, possibly in other months too; but the only festival of the " border of the year " at Babylon to which the ritual applies is that of Nisan. It is not Professor Hooke's comparison of the festivals at the beginning of civil years which is spurious but the transference of the significance of this ceremony to the autumn.

The Feast of Tabernacles as we know it from the Mishnah is a remarkable survival:

> Men of piety and good works used to dance before the candlesticks with burning torches in their hands, singing songs and praises. And countless Levites played on harps, lyres, cymbals and trumpets and instruments of music, on the fifteen steps leading down from the court of the Israelites to the court of the women, corresponding to the fifteen Songs of Ascents (Psalms 120-134); upon them the Levites used to stand with instruments of music and make melody. Two priests stood at the upper gate which leads down from the court of the Israelites to the court of the women with trumpets in their hands. At cock-crow they blew a blast . . . . When they reached the tenth step they again blew a blast . . . . They went on until they reached the gate that leads out to the east. When they reached the gate that leads out to the east, they turned their faces to the west (that is, to the Temple) and said: " Our fathers when they were in this place turned with their backs towards the Temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the east, and worshipped the sun towards the west; but as for us, our eyes are turned towards the Lord."—(*Sukkah*: Danby's translation.)

Professor Hooke must not be blamed for spurious comparison of the Babylonian New Year festival till it is proved that the Mishnah is wrong. According to its account, which deals with a fixed yearly calendar of a luni-solar type, this festival is connected with a particular full moon, and a ceremony in it is connected with a sunrise on one day of the week during which the festival lasted. The Mishnah treats this festival as a survival presumably from pagan times, for the musical salute was addressed to the sun. The importance of the place where the particular sunrise was observed remained after Solomon's Temple replaced worship of the sun by worship of the Lord. In that early time weeks ran independently of the lunar months, and there can have been no fixed intercalation; only year to year observation could decide the relation of the lunar months to the solar year. It is often said that this observation consisted in looking at crops; the utmost confusion would have resulted from year to year. The regular way of referring to a month before the time of Ezra and Nehemiah is to number it. If in the 53rd week of a year on which, say, the Sabbath coincides with the first day of a lunar month, a festival is held and you watch the sun to see its risings swing towards the point where it was seen to rise on the first day of the year, and then at last decide that the sunrise of the next morning completes the annual movement, the relation of lunar and solar year is fixed. Every 28 years the sun will actually rise at almost the identical spot on the same day of the week; in 1953, after a long intermission, the ceremony of the 28 year festival was celebrated. Such observation is possible at Jerusalem with fair accuracy because of the eastern hills. Is the comparison of Jewish survival and pagan practice wrong?

When we use the word " religion " there is, to the modern mind, a connotation which would not, so far as we can judge, be intelligible to the men whose way of life can be summed up, for want of a better word, as " Shahmanism ". The part played in public life in Rome by omens is attested in the pages of Livy; the fact that politicians used omens to secure their own ends in the last century of the Republic does not affect the intense seriousness of the attempt to decide beforehand whether a day was propitious for a given action. The calendars of unlucky and lucky days in Egypt and Babylonia show the same preoccupation. The increase and decrease of the hours of light and dark within a day is not regular. The length of a lunar month is not strictly regular, and the relation of a new moon or full moon to the observation of the sun at a particular point, say the Equinox in spring and autumn, the two year points of importance in the Hebrew calendar, presented great difficulty. The Egyptians connected the ideal year with a star, as the Babylonians connected their ideal year with a succession of heliacal risings of stars. The chances that the supernatural powers will continually alter the luck of days in lunar months can be, men seem to have thought, controlled by associating the course of the moon and that of the sun. It was done in different ways in different lands; the fact that the sun is re-born just before sunrise and before the beginning of the year that is marked by the first new crescent or, in the Egyptian lunar calendar, by the disappearance of the old crescent, gave rise to annual celebrations. The common conception behind the accidental differences seems to me clear. The need for the adjustment was practical; we call the ceremonies which removed the old, and introduced the new, religious. They were pagan, and survived, to become meaningless.

I have dealt with a matter of calculation because I can in part see what happened in regard to that particular matter. Professor Hooke's thesis, like his description of Babylonian religion, is, I think he would claim, no more than a tentative effort to arrive at an understanding of the reason why man,—who is distinguished from other living creatures, so far as present knowledge goes, by his faculty of combining observations for his own, sometimes abstract, satisfaction,—produced, both in practice and in writing, the endless rubbish which, in some convulsive stage, new men arose to denounce. A great deal of that rubbish may be found in Babylonian religion. Some of it, probably a great deal of it, was not purely Babylonian. The introduction of some of it into Babylonia can be traced in historical periods. Some of it was Sumerian. A good deal is Syrian. That there were survivals in all the lands of the Near East, in the older and more correct use of that designation, is not disputable. Some of the imagery of the Psalms is known to be, not merely a poetic expression of religious feeling, as one of the critics declares, but derived, sometimes almost verbally, from the pagan period, and from myths or other religious compositions. A reader of the Old Testament will come to a more lively apprehension of much in it if he knows what sort of ideas the pagans had, and no one land gives more general information about the character of such ideas in the ill-documented paganism of Syria and Palestine and Phoenicia than Babylonia. Together, all Egyptian and Hittite and Babylonian rituals and myths give, both broadly and in detail, help to those interested in discerning the human in ancient error.

Paganism knew no national exclusiveness in these matters. When Amenhetep III was dying, the king of western Mesopotamia, Mitanni, sent the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh, because she had expressed her will: " I will go to Egypt, the land that I love, and I will turn again to it (in mercy)". Nineveh had never been, at that time, an important political capital. The introduction of pagan rites by kings of Israel shows that till the worship of the One, jealous, God produced prophets jealous for the Lord (I Kings xix, 10) there was intercommunication and borrowing and adaptation. The extent of intercommunication can be minimized as well as exaggerated. Are not Professor Hook's critics themselves at fault?

That stumbling block of youth in the nineteenth century, the first chapter of Genesis, describes the order of the cosmos created by God in seven days, and in so doing presented a direct denial of the pagan cosmologies which all, Phoenician, Egyptian, Babylonian, assumed a slow procreation of the visible phenomena out of a chaos of waters or watery matter, a slow ordering of the universe by great gods who subdued older or lesser gods, the creation of one type of man who lived with the gods on earth in order to serve them, the destruction of that type of man for revolt, and the new, present order where the gods live remote, above and below the world of men still serving them. The importance of Genesis I lies in that denial, and the difference amounts to a now vague and remote foreshadowing of a discussion still proceeding. The writer of the sixth chapter of Genesis substituted his own version of the destruction of the " sons of God " as a denial of the forms known in paganism of the story of the destruction of the semi-deities or immortal men typified in the Babylonian *Ut-napishtim*. " Yonder is the sea, great and wide . . . . There is Leviathan, whom Thou hast formed . . . .": the words have come down through the ages, constantly changing in meaning, and in the comfort they give to receptive minds, but originally what did those words convey? For nearly thirty years Professor Hooke has enabled me to see dimly that there is some interest in the study of ancient religions, and I am always grateful to him when I turn back to the Old Testament.

Dual Attitude to Death

By G. LACEY MAY

I

THE Christian rejoices that his religion solves the great tensions of life. Christ came to solve them—to give light for darkness, life for death.

But the Gospel brings its own tensions. Its adherents, for instance, have somehow to reconcile the great joy of Christian faith with the deep sorrow of Christian repentance. This article tries to consider one phase of this tension—that between the Christian's welcome of death and the Christian's fear of death.

The Church solves tensions in Christian thought not necessarily by a direct approval or denial of one alternative against the other. Sometimes uncertainties may be thus banished; but more often problems are solved rather by the Holy Spirit in the Church disclosing a *via media* of thought which, by trimming exaggerated extremities of the opposing contrasts, enables a satisfying welding of the substantial truths which lie between. Thus Dr. John McNeile, discussing in his *History of the Cure of Souls* a contrast between two effective ways of healing disease, writes thus: "Whoever may be chiefly instrumental in the effective correlation of religious and scientific psychotherapy, it is a safe prediction that the solution of the tension between these will come by mutual recognition and not by the extinction of either".[1]

The tension we are to consider arises from the fear, not of the act of dying, but of what follows death. Dr. Johnson, who never feared physical danger or suffering, yet intensely feared death because he felt his great unworthiness to pass through it. This feeling is to be found not in the brutal or the thoughtless who are living that *bios anexetastos* which Plato declared to be no true life, but in the hearts of thoughtful Christians. These, having learnt from Jesus Christ the true value of human personality, and their own inherent sinfulness, find it hard, when confronted with death, to believe that such sinners as themselves can face the Particular

Judgement. Thus Dr. Johnson (Mrs. Thrale tells us) could not repeat from *Dies Irae* a certain verse without bursting into tears:

Quaerens me sedisti lassus,
redemisti crucem passus;
tantus labor non sit cassus.

II

The tension, then, is between the welcome of death as ushering into unspeakable joys and the fear of it as issuing in grave uncertainty.

On the one hand St. Paul desires "to be with Christ, for it is very far better". Thousands of martyrs joyfully anticipate death. Longfellow makes a character in one of his poems say to a Christian

To me the thought of death is terrible,
Having such hold of life! To thee it is not
So much even as the lifting of a latch;—
Only a step into the open air
Out of a tent already luminous!

Walt Whitman sings of death as "a pleasant exploration"; Bishop Winnington Ingram, preaching to schoolboys a few weeks before his death, told them that he was looking forward eagerly to the greatest adventure of his life.

On the other hand we find in equally good Christians, such as Blessed Thomas More, such a view of a torturing Purgatory after death as might well daunt any tender soul. In his *Supplication of Souls in Purgatory* he describes departed souls as huddled together unable to move a foot out of the fire, or their hands to fend from their faces a heat which as far surpassed ordinary fire as ordinary fire surpasses the painted picture of a fire.

Such a conception may seem too medieval to affect the modern mind, yet its language of torture is still to be found in certain religious manuals. And always in Catholic Christianity (and not there only) we find the conviction of an intense severity to be borne by Christians in the life beyond. Charles Kingsley, a most liberal Churchman, acknowledged that he found the central idea of Newman's *Dream of Gerontius* true and noble. He described it as "the longing of the soul to behold Deity, converted by the mere act of sight into self-abasement and self-annihilation so utter that the soul is ready, even glad, to be hurled back to any depth, to endure any pain, from the moment that it becomes aware of God's actual perfection and its utter impurity and meanness".

That some of the early fathers and of later saints, such as St. Catherine of Genoa, have found themselves able to reconcile such suffering with great joy (though they compare the pains of Purgatory to those of Hell itself) will seem to many not easily compatible with, say, some of our Lord's Parables (as of the Lost Coin, Sheep and Son) or his language in St. John xiv and elsewhere. They find the question forced upon them, "How can I, for my own assurance and for the edification of those whom I have to teach, reconcile these two apparently warring conceptions?" For these writers on Purgatory have a way of describing the pains of Purgatory as equal to the pains of Hell.

III

I am not here discussing fear of the act of dying. The normal Christian, who has not browsed too much on the grisly details of dying stressed by Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Dying* or Donne's *Sermons*, may pluck up enough courage to face dying just as he might to face a major operation or to assault well-defended trenches. The fears of which I write are vaguer than this, and spring from a paralysing bewilderment as to what happens after death.

This widespread bewilderment largely springs from the modern complete rejection of that biblical imagery which our Victorian forebears somehow found helpful to their faith. One of Taylor's most vivid and brilliant passages (*Holy Dying* IV, 2) details not only the inevitable collapse of physical dying but also the impenitent soul's horror and despair at finding himself surrounded (even Newman does not shrink from using this aid to the imagination) by vile devils lusting to drag him to Hell's mouth. In this outlook the dying person passes direct either to celestial glory or to eternal perdition. Our Victorian forefathers' conception of the life entered at death had hardly changed since Tudor times. By some strange bias of imagination it considered all souls as either black or white, entirely by-passing that great majority of Christians whose spiritual complexion might best be described as grey; whilst advancing education has made it increasingly difficult for moderns to think of themselves or their friends as completely "lost" or "saved".

The tragedy here, so far as English faith is concerned, is that since our Reformers inveighed in their 22nd Article against "the Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory", the English Church has lamentably failed by some *via media* of doctrine to save its members from "Romish" ideas about Purgatory on the one hand or the equally dogmatic teaching of the Calvinist's immediate Heaven or flaming Hell. To either of these ideas educated men were becoming antagonistic. Shakespeare expresses their growing agnosticism as to these recognized beliefs in such lines as

> In that sleep of death what dreams may come,
> When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,
> Must give us pause,

or " our little life is rounded with a sleep ";
whilst Andrew Marvell could write[2]

> At my back I always hear
> Time's winged chariot hurrying near:
> And yonder all beyond us lie
> Deserts of vast eternity.

In time the Oxford Revival, of course, helped English Churchmen to some conception of an intermediate state of deepened penitence and growing holiness after death; but a few searching questions, put to a thousand chance passers-by, would reveal to the questioner an almost entire ignorance on the whole subject.

This prevalent confusion largely accounts for the scepticism of so many of all classes (especially of men) who neither read the Bible nor join in Christian worship. They cannot believe themselves either good enough for Heaven (even had they desire to worship with harps on a golden sea) or bad enough for Hell-fire; and the confused language of our hymn-books helps to make the whole subject unreal and distasteful to the uninstructed. This confusion has been increased by the gradual growth of Biblical criticism, which has left the ordinary Englishman quite uncertain as to what passages or books of the Scriptures he is obliged, or not obliged, to believe as literally true.

Another devastating influence as to belief has been the absurd eagerness to give an absolute value to scientific "truth", with an ensuing denigration of spiritual truths which cannot be tested by sight or touch.

A survey of the whole post-Reformation period shows an immensely rapid growth in English secular learning, whilst Christianity, whether of Church or nonconformity, remained static, self-satisfied, largely unexplained, and for the most part largely unconcerned whilst its foundations were visibly cracking beneath it. Can we wonder that our people, as on so many other religious problems, are ignorant on this question of life after death? How many sermons have my readers heard in their lifetime upon the intermediate state?

IV

It is possible here only to suggest a few considerations on the subject, to enlighten confusion or alleviate fearfulness.

Our Lord, in his teaching, stresses that we should not fear the act or circumstance of dying. "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul". Always he emphasizes that not *dying* is the greatest of calamities, *but dying without the fellowship of God*. Even a sparrow, having no free will, cannot do this (St. Matt. x, 36); only the human being, choosing to live without God, can accomplish this dire disaster. Dives, who seems, like the Unjust Judge, to have regarded neither God nor man, still after death apparently finds himself with no new conviction of God. Concerned with the condition of his erring brethren, he yet shows no sign of contrition towards the Creator whom he has ignored. Likewise the Rich Fool's only asset for entering the next world is his poverty *towards God*.

Dives' awakened unselfishness may hint that suffering in Hades (he was not in Gehenna) might help, "as by fire", to purify a soul careless upon earth; there too will some be rewarded with few stripes, some with more. That our Lord at his Resurrection "had not yet ascended to His Father" seems to teach that Paradise, where the penitent thief met him on Good Friday evening, was synonymous with that happy waiting-place where at that time he "preached unto the spirits in prison".[3] The "mansions" which he promised to prepare for his friends—*μονάι*—are now generally explained not in the English sense of the word *mansion* as luxurious abiding-places, but rather as "resting-places"[4] upon a journey to be made by every Christian soul who is to attain to the Beatific Vision.

These thoughts, and others in the Epistles, suggest—or even declare—a waiting life of purification after death. Common sense even seems, as Dr. C. A. Alington says in his *Dean's Apology*, to demand it "as essential to Christian thought; the 'Roman doctrine' of Purgatory which our Articles rightly condemn was a characteristic Latin invention, carrying legal principles beyond the grave, and its abuses in the Middle Ages called for its rejection; but its departure left us with the stark alternative of Heaven or Hell, which fails to satisfy our conception of either God's goodness, or of man's deserts". Our Western desire for logic or legality must not lead us to define places rather than widely-differing conditions in the life beyond, and still less to apportion awards to the good or evil. We must be satisfied with grounds for hoping, as Browning did, that whatever knowledge of God, trust in God, love of God, lies in our character at death, will be fully developed in that love in ways which we cannot yet wholly foresee.

V

Here, it may be said, arises our problem. How far can we rightly suppose that God's method of perfecting souls in that life must include *suffering*?, or, at any rate, suppose that suffering should be our dominant conception of his method? Dr. B. J. Kidd calls the latter conception "the root of error" which grew up under the spread of Roman legal ideas. He traces the origin of the "Romish doctrine" from St. Augustine's transference of Origen's purgatorial fires at the Last Day to the intermediate state; and adds that "Gregory the Great (Pope, 590-604) erected the speculation into a certainty" which took root through the Middle Ages until the so-called General Council of Florence (1439) authoritatively formulated it.[5] From this grew gradually, for the remission of purgatorial pains, the value of indulgences and works of supererogation. Their popularity grew as Roman doctrines intensified this element of suffering.

It seems inevitable that suffering will play its part in our complete sanctification, since deeper penitence must bring its measure of suffering. The distinction between this milder conception and that later taught seems to appear in two statements put forward through the Council of Trent. In 1563 the Council moderately stated that "there is a Purgatory, and the souls there detained are relieved by the suffrages of the faithful, but chiefly by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar". But a little later the *Catechismus Romanus* took the ominous step of declaring that in "the fire of Purgatory the souls of the just are purified by torment for a stated time".

The Eastern Orthodox Church claims that there is no definite place of Purgatory—souls at death passing at once to Heaven or Hell; but it agrees that even souls impenitent at death can be "snatched" out of Hell by the Holy Sacrifice of the altar, prayers and thanksgivings offered by the faithful on earth.[6] Perhaps the following prayer, made shortly before his death by the great Theodosius (the first monastic saint canonized by the Russian Church, 1074) may be considered characteristic of the greater gentleness of the Eastern Church: "Thy will be done. Whatever God wills shall be done to me. But I pray Thee, O my Lord, have mercy upon my soul that it may not encounter the malice of Thy enemies, but that Thy angels may receive it and lead it through the darkness after death towards the light of Thy mercy".[7]

Western ideas of everlasting life seem largely couched in terms of Divine coercion or punishment. In Eastern Christianity the spirit of love seems prevalent rather than the spirit of law.

The Gospels impress on their readers that our Lord sought to draw men to God rather by teaching of God's love than by threatening his hearers with punishment. "This is life eternal", they heard him say to God, "that they should know thee the only true God, and him whom thou didst send, even Jesus Christ." The word *οἰώνιας* used of both life and death, refers to quality rather than to quantity or duration. Man's first duty is to love God, and his second, to love his fellows. This two-fold loving service St. John tells us, *will assure our hearts before God* (I Jo. iii, 19). If man accepts the Son's teaching he *has* eternal life—not in its fullness, but in a measure which will grow until his love is completed.

Baron F. von. Hügel, in his *Eternal Life* (perhaps the best book of many on this subject), has vividly stressed this two-fold fellowship—love to God and man—as *a present possession.* It is not something *outside* to be grasped, but something *within us,* to be kept alive and nourished. *Time* is not the chief idea in this, though time is to be used. Time and its circumstances, "is for us men, not a barrier against eternal life, but the very stuff and means by which we vitally experience and apprehend that life. . . . That doubly social life I try to lead here (the most real and though itself already its own exceeding great reward) constitutes, after all, but the preliminary practice, the getting ready for ampler, more expansive, more utterly blissful energizings in and for man, the essentially durational, quasi-eternal, and God, the utterly abiding, the pure Eternal Life".

To von Hügel all Christian life is experimental in its use of each new hour and experience as bringing the soul into closer fellowship with God. To the Christian death will bring a further growth in that fellowship. Perhaps that is what Alexander Yelchanimov meant when he wrote: "The flux of time is terrifying as long as one remains motionless. We must plunge into the depths, where time is a matter of indifference".[8]

VI

If fellowship with God is eternal life, the true prophylactic against fear about the life after death will be the deliberate and watchful strengthening of personal fellowship with God, our blessed Lord and the Holy Spirit, both in the Church's worship and fellowship, and also by the enrichment of fellowship with men by seeking to love God better for their sakes, and by a readiness to loosen earthly ties before the call of death comes. Fr. George Congreve has told us[9] how Fr. R. M. Benson once thus translated for an invalid a short verse by Victor Hugo:

> Let us learn like a bird for a moment to take
> Sweet rest on a bough that is ready to break:
> She feels the bough tremble, yet daily she sings.
> What is it to her? She has wings! she has wings.

In the same book Congreve tells of the death of a lad of twenty, whose last words were, "As long as I have any being, I will praise the Lord". What gallant gratitude to God, in face of death, compared with the fears of many who have experienced the mercies of God not twenty years but seventy or eighty!

This preparatory detachment amidst the entanglements of earthly life and work can be learnt only by habitual up-lifting of the heart and mind to God. *Oculi mei semper in Dominum* (Ps. xxv, 14).

It is this intensity for fellowship with God which redeems what at first sight seems the egoistic obsession of John Donne with the subject of death. If he stresses overmuch the physical side of death, it is to teach that its utter bodily and mental collapse can be faced only by one who has learnt to hold himself fast by God continually. Is there in English prose any passage more majestically and intellectually compelling than this passage in his great sermon on damnation (LXXVI), describing the appalling horror of *losing* God?

> *Horrendum est,* says the Apostle, *It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God. . . .* but to fall out of the hands of the living God, is a horror beyond our expression, beyond our imagination.
>
> That God should let my soul fall out of his hand, into a bottomless pit . . . . and never think more of that soul, never have more to do with it. That of that providence of God, that studies the life of every weed, and worm, and ant, and spider, and toad, and viper, there should never, never, never any beam flow out upon me; that that God, who looked upon me when I was nothing, and called me when I was not, as though I had been, out of the womb and depth of darkness, will not look upon me now, when, though a miserable, and a damned creature, yet I am His creature still, and contribute something to His glory, even in my damnation; that that God, who hath often looked upon me in my foulest uncleanness, and when I had shut out the eye of the day, the sun, and the eye of the night, the taper, and the eyes of all the world, with curtains and windows, and doors, did yet see me, and see me in mercy, by making me see that He saw me, and sometimes brought me to a present, and (for that time) to a forbearing of that sin, should so turn Himself from me, to His glorious saints and angels, so that no saint nor angel, nor Christ Jesus Himself, should ever pray Him to look towards me, never remember Him that such a soul there is . . . . that that God should frustrate all His own purposes and practices upon me, and leave me, and cast me away, as though I had cost Him nothing, that this God at last, should let this soul go away, as a smoke, as a vapour, as a bubble, and that then this soul cannot be a smoke, a vapour, nor a bubble, but must lie in darkness, as long as the Lord of light is light itself, and never spark of that light reach to my soul; What Tophet is not paradise, what brimstone is not amber, what gnashing is not a comfort, what torment is not a marriage bed to this damnation, to be secluded eternally, eternally, eternally, from the sight of God?

Was St. Paul thinking thus when he wrote of "eternal destruction (*ὄλεθρον αἰώνιον ἀπὸ προσὼπον τôν κυρίου*) from the face of the Lord" (2 Thess. i, 9), or was he thinking of annihilation?

That man should not meet this appalling fate, God has mercifully provided the sacraments and fellowship of the Church in which man may learn to worship God and serve his neighbour —that two-fold discipline without which he "cannot assure his heart before God" (I John iii, 19). In this life he may develop his experience of that fuller aeonian life. If, when this life is ended, he is still far from perfection, we may confidently feel that God, as "a faithful Creator", will find ways (of which we cannot dogmatize) to develop to the full his deficient fellowship with the All-holy.

Those who strive to walk with God he has taught to "serve him without fear" both for the present and the future. *I. Thess.* v. 10, significantly states God's purpose of unbroken life for Christians through this world and the next—" that, *whether we wake, or sleep,* we should live together with him." We must learn to entrust that which follows death—with whatever chastisement it may be mingled—to him who all our days has guarded, guided, and borne with us in love. "Before the night comes", we must learn to surrender ourselves—our thoughts, ways and wills—to him in the daily walk, the daily task, the daily waiting.

It is gross ingratitude towards God — Father, Son and Holy Spirit—if after so many years of unfailing loving mercies and patience showered upon us from our birth, we are found fearful lest his love fail us at the last. The love to God which Christ teaches as our first duty includes this abundant trust in all the divine promises for our whole future. To fail in this trust in God is clearly a sin—of faithlessness and ingratitude. Donne so saw and proclaimed it when, in ending his *Hymn to God the Father,* he declared it the last sin of all:

I have a sin of fear, that when I have spun
My last thread, I shall perish on the shore;
Swear by Thyself, that at my death Thy Son
Shall shine as He shines now, and heretofore;
And, having done that, Thou hast done,
I fear no more.

Dean Church, in his *Human Life and its Conditions,* makes an impassioned and moving appeal to Christians not to fail in this trust, which is indeed a characteristic note of the life called *aeonian* or *everlasting.* May we not say with truth that the glory of the Atonement, rightly accepted, kills all fear of death or of what follows death?

This—the fearless passing through death to God's care beyond

—is the last self-surrender of our whole personality which he asks of each one of us. W. Robertson Nicoll says this finely of our Lord's death:

> He is never so completely victorious over the world as when He bows His head to the world, and takes the worst that it can do. Such is His death. Resting in it as an atonement, we become conformed to its spirit—which is the spirit of patience, love and trust. "The greatest of these is love". "Trust in God is the last of all things, and the whole of all things".[10]

If we live in this spirit we shall be able already out of our own experience to say, "The Lord is my light and my salvation; *whom then shall I fear*?".

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 308, 1952.

[2] *To his Coy Mistress.*

[3] *I Pet.* iii. 9.

[4] Bp. B. F. Westcott *in loc.* (if we do not accept—as Dr. Moffatt does—Dr. Rendell Harris's suggestion that it was *Enoch* who preached, or Dr. Selwyn's belief that "the spirits in prison" were fallen angels, not men).

[5] Kidd, *The Thirty-nine Articles* II pp. 192-193.

[6] *The Orthodox Church*, by Sergius Bulgakov (Centenary Press, 1935).

[7] G. P. Fedotov, *A Treasury of Russian Devotion*, p. 46 (Sheed & Ward, 1950).

[8] *Treasury of Russian Spirituality*, p. 442. Fr. Yelchanimov (1881-1934) was a spiritual leader of scholarly Russian intellectuals who turned from revolutionary movements to revive the ancient ascetic tradition of the Greek Fathers.

[9] *Treasures of Hope for the Evening of Life.*

[10] *The Key of the Grave*, p. 95.

Robert Masters and his College History

By CHARLES SMYTH

In the Rev. William Cole's supplement to his *Short Account of the Benedictine Antiquaries*—that is, of such antiquaries as had been educated at Bene't College, as Corpus was then currently described—under the heading, " Robert Masters, B.D.", there is this entry, made in 1780, eighteen years before its subject's death:

> I did Injustice to Mr. Masters in omitting his Name in the List of the Antiquarian Members of this Society, at the Beginning of this Book. My Dispute with him concerning his Vicarage House at Waterbeche (which I occupied for about 15 months), had disgusted me, & for 8 years I held no Correspondence with him. Time has cooled my Resentment, & makes me do impartial Justice to a Person, who has merited greatly of the Old House, in giving us an useful History of it: & it is with Concern that I observe, That his Example has been useless to other Societies, now for near 30 years. Is it not a Reproach to the Members of so many Colleges, in both our Universities, that so little Notice is taken by them of their respective Foundations?[1]

That reproach has long since been removed. But it is a legitimate pride to the Society of which I have the honour to be a Fellow, that *The History of the College of Corpus Christi and of the B. Virgin Mary (commonly called Bene't) in the University of Cambridge, from its foundation to the present time, by* Robert Masters, B.D., *Fellow of the College and of the Society of Antiquaries of London,* published at the University Press in 1753, was the pioneer history of a College in either University; as also it is our pride that Mr. J. P. T. Bury's continuation of Dr. Lamb's edition (1831) of Masters, published at the University Press in 1952[2] to mark the sexcentenary of the foundation, is the pioneer social history of a College in either University.

That interval of two hundred years has seen many changes in the little College which its 18th-century alumni always spoke of as the Old House: a usage which is not only perpetuated in the traditional toast of the College, "*Floreat Antiqua Domus*", but is also illustrated by the anecdote of a former Master, Bishop Matthias Mawson (of whom Archbishop Herring, in recommending him to the Prime Minister for translation from the see of Chichester to that of Ely, remarked " he wants nothing but a little less respect for wealth and more for outward decorum "), when in London, with characteristic absent-mindedness ordering his coachman to drive to the Old House, and finding himself set down at Drury Lane Theatre.

" When I first knew Cambridge," wrote the poet Cowper to the Rev. William Unwin (20 November, 1784), " I knew that Bene't had a character: it was my father's principal inducement when he chose that college for my brother."[3] The character of the College in the eighteenth century was in fact ecclesiastically Latitudinarian and politically Whig. At a time when academic loyalties tended to be naturally Jacobite, the Rev. Charles Kidman, Tutor and subsequently President of the College, who died in 1740—" the Person that introduced the reading of Mr. Locke in the University of Cambridge, & a Fast Friend to Liberty in All Times "—had successfully converted Corpus into a stronghold of the Whigs, and a repository for their favours. " To Him it was principally owing that the College of which he was a Member was so remarkably attach'd to the Revolution & the Succession in the House of Hanover. Many Persons, brought up under his Care have been advanced to the Greatest Dignities in the Church, & been Eminent in the Commonwealth of Learning."[4] Of five successive Masters between 1698 and 1764, all but one were raised to the episcopate;[5] and under the Hanoverian dynasty. Corpus men filled the primatial sees of Canterbury and York,[6] and the bishoprics of Chichester, Ely, Lincoln, Rochester, Carlisle, as well as Llandaff and St. David's, and various Irish sees. At this fruitful seminary Robert Masters, a Norfolk man,[7] was admitter sizar in 1731; and, seven years later, at the age of 24, he was elected to a Fellowship. He was, not unnaturally, a Whig: his earliest publication was a patriotic sermon, preached on Sunday, October 13, 1745, and entitled *The Mischiefs of Faction and Rebellion considered,* in which he exhorted the natives of Great and Little Wilbraham to remember the Valour and Bravery of their Ancestors.[8]

The Rev. Robert Masters—he had been ordained in 1736—was Fellow and Tutor of his College from 1738 to 1756. I suppose it is in the course of nature that, the Professorial class alone excepted (and at a slightly different level), a richer fund of anecdote and reminiscence clusters about a College Tutor than about any other kind of don. Certainly the sixth volume of Nichols' *Literary Illustrations* is enlivened by many recollections of Robert Masters from the correspondence of the Rev. Samuel Denne, F.S.A., and other Benedictines. From this source we learn that the Tutor of Bene't was a choleric man and " in the habit of speaking his mind in a Stentorian style ", and that the motto to his coat of arms was *Tenacem Propositi*: " Qu. was it chosen by the bearer as characteristic of himself, or did it devolve to him with a devise of a red lion rampant with a brace of long tails erect, by hereditary right?"[9] There are hilarious reminiscences of the days when the undergraduates of the College " sat at the feet of Gamaliel, to hear in his apartment a learned lecture on $a + b - c$, or on a proposition in Euclid's Elements, or when we descended with him into the cellar to see the experiments of an axis in peritrochio "[10] (whatever that may be); and of the diverting occasion when Masters, in an algebra lecture, caught a young gentleman who had been drawing on his slate, not $a + b$ and $c - d$, but a picture of himself with a gun levelled, a pointer in an attitude proper, and a covey of partridges on the wing:

> Such a profanation of a lecture-room merited a severe imposition; and the task onjoined was, that Hey should the next morning repeat a hundred lines in Homer to the indignant tutor. The culprit, in a tone of humiliation, asked where he was to begin. Homer was brought from the shelf in the adjoining gallery—[a phrase which corroborates the suggestion of " the cellar " that Masters kept in O.3 in what is now known as the Old Court]—and after some demur the verse was marked at which the punishment was to commence; but no sooner was the catchword sounded, than Will, who had a retentive memory, improved by practice at Eton, repeated the verses more expeditiously than Masters could read them, for I need not remind you that Bobby had not the credit of being an expert Greek scholar. The penalty, however, being paid, the offender had a right to a dismissal; and thus ended a scene that was somewhat farcical.'[11]

It should be unnecessary to suggest that such trivial incidents are remembered only in connection with colourful personalities, and that they are not recounted without genuine affection and regard: which holds good also of the story of " Toby Masters's worrying the lads of the Old House, by obliging them to attend an afternoon Lecture when they wished to be gossiping over their tea, and by constraining them to come to Chapel at half past six in the morning, when they wanted to lengthen their nap." By way of reprisal, " the junto chose to pen the following paraphrase on a passage in the Psalms, and to place it in the prayer-book of the Dean: ' Quoth

David of his enemy, He worketh mischief, he has conceived sorrow, and brought forth ungodliness', or words to that purport; but, quoth the commentators, 'Toby worketh mischief, he hath conceived dullness, and brought forth stupidity'."[12]

That, of course, was libellous: although we may well believe that the Rev. Robert Masters shone less brilliantly as a mathematician or even as a divine (although he had taken a B.D. in 1746) than as an historian and an antiquary. According to Cole, he had begun to make Collections for a History of the College in 1747: the book appeared in 1753, followed two years later by a second part, containing biographical notices of some principal members of the College, with an appendix of documents. Masters had also the honour to be elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1752.

In the same year he was made Vicar of St. Bene't's, Cambridge, having previously served the cure of both the Wilbrahams for several years. Then, in 1756, the more lucrative College living of Landbeach fell vacant, and Masters was presented to the Rectory. To this, Bishop Mawson, to whom he had dedicated his History of Corpus Christi College in a few well-chosen words, added the Vicarage of Linton: and, having ceased to reside in College, and being endowed with a sufficient income, Masters resigned his Fellowship and married a wife. In 1759, however, as Cole records, "on his Representation to the Bishop of the Conveniency of his serving both Landbeche and Waterbeche in Person, from their Contiguity, & the Distance of 15 Miles from his House to Linton, when he must have a constant Curate, his Lordship very kindly accommodated him with the adjoyning Vicarage of Waterbeche, within a Mile of his other Living."

Many years later, in 1795, when Bishop Mawson had been gathered to his fathers, and Bishop Yorke (to whom Masters had thoughtfully dedicated his *Memoirs of Thomas Baker*[13]) reigned in his stead, our author published anonymously, and in a limited edition of 25 copies, "*A Short Account of the Parish of Waterbeach in the Diocese of Ely* by a late Vicar." It contains biographical notices of past incumbents, himself included: for, by the Bishop's leave, he had resigned the benefice in 1784 to his son William, who, however, lived only ten years to enjoy it. This fragment of autobiography, which is remarkable for its plain speaking, tells us a good deal about its author.

It begins by stating that on the death (13 April, 1759) of Roger Sturgeon, M.A., who also had the living of Hardmead in Bucks, and was Master of the Free School in Cambridge, he was succeeded as Vicar of Waterbeach on 2 August, 1759, by

> *Robert Masters,* B.D. then Rector of *Landbeach,* who gave up the Vicarage of *Linton,* to which he had been collated without solicitation, by his old Friend and Patron Bishop *Mawson.* Soon after which he fortunately discovered, that his Predecessors had for many years past been defrauded of a considerable portion of Corn and Hay Tithes, with which the Vicarage had been endowed soon after the Restoration. These, after being well advised by able and friendly Lawyers, he set himself about the recovery of, by filing a Bill in the Exchequer, against a very rich and potent adversary, in which by indefatigable application and at no small hazard he happily succeeded, and thereby more than doubled the value of the Living. This, however, he afterwards wished to resign to his Son, who had then no other maintenance, in which the present Bishop of Ely was so obliging as to indulge him; the only Reward he ever received at his hands, for fourteen years service, for so greatly improving the value of the Collation, for repairing and enlarging the House at no small expence, and for purchasing a Freehold Estate, with a House, Barn, Close and Common, contiguous to the Vicarage, for the enlargement of its Scite; a Reward which he apprehends, especially if to it be added the ungenerous treatment he has met with, from those solely interested therein, will afford little encouragement to future Benefactions.

Robert Masters was indeed, as Samuel Denne observed, a choleric man: and perhaps the greatest mistake he ever made was in 1767, when he let the vicarage at Waterbeach to the Rev. William Cole, who was desirous to leave Bletchley, and was not averse to undertaking the duties of a curate in return for £20 a year and the use of the house.[14] Cole was a graduate of King's College, a fellow-Antiquary, and godfather to Masters' son Billy. Unfortunately Masters undertook to have the house done up for his new tenant: and, as so often happens in these circumstances, Cole was dissatisfied with the work done, and still more dissatisfied when he discovered how much he was expected to contribute to the cost of it. On Friday, December 11, 1767, there was an open quarrel: "I told Mr. Masters of his brutish & rough Carriage: he said he was not conscious of it . . . . I told him he was mistaken if he thought I came here in any other Light than as his Equal, & that I would not be bullyed and hectored at by him, & would not be his underling. He gave my servant Tom half-a-crown."[15]

The rift widened. In January 1771, Masters read to the Society of Antiquaries, and subsequently published in *Archaeologia,* a learned paper in which he corrected certain errors in a book entitled *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard the Third* by Cole's friend and fellow-Kingsman, Horace Walpole. This " provoked Mr. Walpole to withdraw himself from the Society of Antiquaries ": thereafter the Cole-Walpole correspondence becomes peppered with insulting references to " Mr. C.C.C.C." or " Mr. What-d'ye-call-him ", " this trumpery fellow ", " my old sour neighbour," " my late Jew landlord "[16]: and of course the unhappy controversy between Masters and James Essex the architect, regarding the authorship of the design for the New Court of Corpus which Masters had prefixed to his History, added fuel to the flame. In 1783 a book collector named George Stevens purchased from Cole's library his annotated copy of Masters' History of the College, intending to offer it to one of the Benedictine Antiquaries, Richard Gough: but upon examination he found Cole's marginal notes to be " so crowded with the grossest personal abuse " that common decency obliged him to return the scabrous volume to the reverend the author of the work. This very copy is now one of the treasures of the College Library, to which it was presented in 1909. The essence of the matter is that eighteenth-century antiquaries were in the habit of comparing notes, and then accusing one another of pirating their discoveries. But it was certainly unworthy of Parson Cole to lend credence to the rumour that his old antagonist had been detected pilfering from the plate at the performance of an oratorio in aid of Addenbrooke's Hospital[17], or to add a codicil to his will to the effect that certain specified antiquaries, including the Rev. Robert Masters, were not to be admitted to his study before his manuscripts were safely under lock and key. Masters for his part, in the preface to his *Memoirs of Thomas Baker,* not unjustifiably complained of the provision that Cole's private papers, " with all the little Tales of Scandal, of the University, Town and County, for half a Century past ", were to be inaccessible for the space of twenty years after his death: " The Attempt to keep these Characters from the Publick, till the Subjects of them shall be no more, seems to be particularly cruel and ungenerous, since it is precluding them from vindicating themselves from such injurious Aspersions, as their Friends perhaps (however willing) may at that distance of Time, be incapable of removing. The above Censure may perhaps be thought somewhat severe, but the Editor, well acquainted with the fickleness of his Disposition for more than forty Years past, avers it to be well grounded, and thinks it incumbent upon him thus to publish it to the World, to prevent any Mischiefs that may arise hereafter from his unwarrantable Prejudices."

In the light of this, it is the more gratifying to record that when Masters suffered the most bitter and humiliating of all the many disappointments of his life, Cole, from whatever motive, performed the offices of friendship. It was one of the last kindnesses he did before his death[18]. "Cardinal" Cole had left Waterbeach in 1770, and had taken a house in Milton. The incident, which he narrates in his biographical "Character" of Masters, throws a very singular light upon a Fellowship election in the eighteenth century; though his description of it should no doubt be regarded with that caution which Masters has enjoined upon the reader of Cole's manuscript collections.

Tuesday, Feb. 19, 1782. Dr. Colman [Master of Corpus Christi College, 1778-94] called here & told me, That Mr. Masters' son was rejected (together with Mr. Dowsing's Son) from being Fellow on Wedn. or Thursday last: that he had done all in his Power to get him elected, by conferring separately with all the resident Fellows: that there were 7 in College, & if 4 gave their votes against him, he hoped 3 & his casting vote would ensure the Election for him: but on the Evening before, the Non-Residents came in, & all voted against him. Mr. Masters had called on him the Saturday before, but had said nothing about the ensuing Election: though Dr. Colman had heard 2 or 3 weeks before that an Opposition was forming: & indeed he said, that on Monday he gave up all Hopes of his succeeding, but next Day thought there was a better Chance. He urged at the Election the merits of the Father's Book & usefulness to the Society, which he had endeavoured to serve to the utmost, though in an ungain & rough manner, & though he was of an ungracious, morose & crabbed Nature, yet he thought the College, in Gratitude for his Labours, owed him this Compliment: & though the Son was of an obstinate, sour & ungovernable Disposition, yet he had behaved regularly, & was, tho' a dull young Man, yet by Application and Industry, was superior to every Candidate, except him who was elected, & Dowsing: & especially as it was impossible that he would live the Year out. All his Oratory served to no Effect, & he found for the first Time since he was Master, a strong Opposition to him: tho' in the Evening, when they were exulting, one of the most sedate of the Fellows said, that they would repent of not following the Master's plan. The Master said he was so chagrined & uneasy about it that he had hardly slept for 3 or 4 nights, especially as Robin had wrote a Letter to him, in which he complained, That he had not one Friend in the College, who would prepare him for this Disappointment. The lad called here yesterday & seemed excessively ill, & stuttered so lamentable, that he was in Convulsions to get out the word, No. I took Notice how much his Illness had affected that natural Complaint: he said it had extremely. I had not heard of his Disappointment: but no doubt it occasioned the over-abundant stammering. As the Master was going to London, & seemed desirous I should make his Apology, I wrote to Mr. Masters directly & invited him & his family to dine with me tomorrow: though not well myself.

At this point Cole has inserted in the volume an autograph letter from Masters in reply—a letter quivering with wounded dignity:

Landbeach, Tuesday afternoon.—Mr. Masters presents his compliments to Mr. Cole, and is much obliged to him for his kind invitation, which he with Son & Daughter Anne will accept of in his return from Cambridge on Thursday, whither he is going to have a conference with the Master of Bene't about future Measures, his son having lately had the mortification to be superseded in a Fellowship, which has given him the most sensible uneasiness; but more of this when he comes to Milton.

With this there is inserted also an autograph letter from the Master, written in a large and nervous script:

Bene't College, Wednesday 20 Febr. 1782.—Dear Sir, I thank you for your Note and the Hints you give me concerning Mr. M.'s Visit, tho' I wanted no preparation before I received him, as I had done all in my power to serve his son: & if I erred in concealing from him the scheme that was concerting in College, I erred on the side of tenderness, as my hopes of his success did not leave me till the time of Election was at hand; & had his son succeeded, I should still have concealed from Mr. M. the opposition that had been made . . . . I am, Dear Sir, Your sincere Friend & obliged humble Servant, W. Colman.

Cole's narrative then continues:

Friday Febr. 22. The Master called on me: I told him what he had said in Relation to this Affair which I had related to Mr. Masters who seemed to be pretty satisfied: yet complained that he had no Notice, that he might have applied to some of the Fellows, particularly Mr. Taylor, & he thought he might have prevailed with him & them to have elected his Son. The Master shook his Head at this, & said, on the contrary, he would have made Things worse: & that he was determined to tell him to morrow, when he called on him (for he was at Dr. Spencer's Audit on Thursday when he sent him to the Bull) That he had separately canvassed every Fellow, who all made strong objections to both their Tempers & Dispositions, but particularly they had stronger against the Father, whose obstinate, contradictory, & busy meddling they had more Reason to fear, than the mulish obstinacy of the Son . . . . The Master said one Thing, which I thought contradictory to what he said to me on Tuesday, which was, That he would advise the Father, when he saw him, to prevail with the Bishop of Ely to accept his Demission of the Vicarage of Waterbeche in Favour of his Son: yet on Tuesday he told me, That one of his Arguments to chuse him Fellow, was, That he could not live a year to an End. Would he then persuade the Father to give up a good Vicarage to a dying Son, & so both lose the Benefit of it?

The sequel to this unhappy story was that Masters, two years later, obtained the Bishop's leave to resign the vicarage of Waterbeach to his son (" who had then no other maintenance "). But William died in 1794[19]: and Masters, who had been a widower for thirty years, in 1797 resigned the rectory of Landbeach to Mr. Burroughes, the Senior Fellow of Caius, who immediately upon his presentation married Masters' second daughter, Mary. The old man continued to live with them in the parsonage house until his death, at the age of eighty-four, on July 5, 1798. He was buried in Landbeach church, where a monument was erected to his memory. His library was sold by auction in London six months before his death: according to the catalogue (of which a copy is preserved in the Library of the British Museum), the sale took seven days.

Such was Robert Masters, the pioneer historian of his College. As one of his old colleagues[20] said of him: " I believe he acts upon the principles of integrity, although he is so unhappy as frequently to have a very wrong way of being in the right ". It was his great misfortune to be a disappointed man: and the world is not kind to disappointed men. The Rev. John Sharp, in a revealing phrase, describes him sitting for his portrait " in the midst of as much mortification, opposition, and disappointment as ever "[21]. This portrait, by the Rev. Samuel Kerrich, was engraved in 1796: there is a print of it in the Master's Lodge of Corpus Christi College: and it will readily be allowed to exhibit a more cheerful and convivial side of the historian's character.

For all his faults—and these, no doubt, were many—it is none the less proper that the sons of the Old House which he " had endeavoured to serve to the utmost, tho' in an ungain & rough manner ", should in some sort number the Rev. Robert Masters, B.D., F.S.A., among their Benefactors. Upon his History of the College, and not on what his contemporaries thought of him, nor upon all the tittle-tattle collected and preserved by " the late Mr. Cole of Milton " of which he was so justly apprehensive, his reputation stands secure. St. Paul has said: " If any man's work abide . . . . . he shall receive a reward." As an historian Masters rose superior to his prejudices and to the personal defects of his character. In this life it is not given to every man to do the one thing which he is capable of doing supremely well, that one thing which answers to his individuality and his talent. And, by the inscrutable mercy of God, it was given to Robert Masters, sometime Fellow of his College and of the Society of Antiquaries of London: though much else was denied him.

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[1] British Museum Add. MS. 5886 (" the Benedictine volume " of the Cole MSS.).

[2] *The College of Corpus Christi and of the Blessed Virgin Mary: a History from* 1822 *to* 1952, by Patrick Bury, Fellow and Librarian.

[3] *Cowper Memorials: Records of the Rev. John Cowper, M.A., and of other Members of the Family of Wm. Cowper the Poet,* by the Rev. H. P. Stokes, LL.D. (1904), p. 8.

[4] From an appreciation by his nephew, the Rev. Samuel Kerrich: quoted in *Memoirs of a Royal Chaplain,* 1729-1763, by Albert Hartshorne (1905), p. 53.

[5] Thomas Greene (Norwich, Ely); Samuel Bradford (Carlisle, Rochester); Matthias Mawson (Llandaff, Chichester, Ely); John Green (Lincoln).

[6] Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury 1695-1716: Thomas Herring, Archbishop of York 1743-7, of Canterbury 1747-57.

[7] " His father was a vendor of ale in a small village *juxta* Norwich." —Nichols, *Lit. Illus.* vi. 742.

[8] Preface.—" To the Reader. In this time of publick Danger, when all Heads, Hands and Hearts ought to be employed for the support and preservation of our present happy Constitution, it will not I hope be thought either unreasonable or impertinent to endeavour to contribute though in the smallest degree towards so good a Work, by putting the following Discourse into the hands of my Parishioners and Neighbours, with a view of its becoming more effectually and extensively useful. I am Sensible of its many Defects, but as my Zeal alone for the Publick Good occasions its Publication, so I hope that will plead their Excuse with every candid and ingenuous Reader."

[9] Nichols, *Lit. Illus.,* vi. 635, 629.

[10] Ibid., p. 629.

[11] Ibid., p. 696.

[12] Ibid., p. 739.

[13] *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late Rev. Thomas Baker, B.D., of St. John's College in Cambridge, from the papers of Dr. Zachary Grey . . .* by Robert Masters, B.D. and F.A.S. (1784) Dedication " To the Honourable and Right Reverend James, Lord Bishop of Ely, not so much distinguished by the honours conferred upon himself and his illustrious family, as by his singular attachment to the business of his diocese, and unusual residence therein; which, with his affable and condescending behaviour to all, have justly endeared him to the publick, to his clergy, and in particular to him who with all

humility begs leave to inscribe the following memoirs and to acknowledge himself his Lordship's most obedient and obliged servant, Robert Masters."

[14] Cole left his mark at Waterbeach. On Christmas Day, 1767, he ordered the Holy Table to be carried to the east end of the chancel: it had previously stood in the middle of the chancel, and the squire and his lady had been accustomed to receive the Sacrament sitting in their pew: "and most indecent", as Cole noted in his diary. On March 27, 1768, the singing gallery was first used.—W. M. Palmer, *William Cole of Milton* (1935), p. 47.

[15] *The Blecheley Diary of the Rev. William Cole, M.A., F.S.A.*, ed. F. G. Stokes (1931), p. 299.

[16] *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. W. S. Lewis, vols. i and ii, *Correspondence with the Rev. William Cole* (1937), passim.

[17] *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with the Rev. William Cole*, vol. i, p. 268.

[18] Cole died Dec. 16, 1782, aged sixty-eight.

[19] The Rev. Samuel Denne writes: 'Young Masters, as I understand, died consumptive. He was offended by the old man's desiring two of the Cambridge physicians to go to Waterbeach to consult upon his dangerous case; father and son, however, seldom conversed together in a friendly and affectionate manner, probably from their both having a perversity of temper, though once the former hinted to Dr. Colman he was greatly astonished where his son could acquire such a degree of obstinacy as was discernible in him.' (Nichols, *Lit. Illus.*, vi. 628-9.) It appears that Bishop Yorke forgot 'that he had encouraged Mr. Masters to believe that a son-in-law elect should be the successor of his son in that living', and collated another clergyman to the vicarage of Waterbeach, which greatly incensed 'the veteran incumbent.' (*Ibid.*, p. 635.)

[20] The Rev. John Sharp (Nichols, *Lit. Illus.*, vi. 801).

[21] Ibid., p. 805 (letter dated March 12, 1756).

The Open Secret of the Kingdom of God

By CECIL S. EMDEN

THE meaning of "the Kingdom of God" has been recently stated by Dr. W. R. Matthews, Dean of St. Paul's, to be the most burning question in Christianity to-day. Not only is every Christian entitled to form an opinion on this subject, for it is certainly not one to be confined to scholars; but it may be argued that it is incumbent on all to try to do so. If this obligation had been widely acknowledged, we should probably be nearer to an understanding than we are at the present time.

In fact, thinking Christians, and even proficient theologians, often seem to have only a general, or vague, impression of what the Kingdom of God is. Some conclude that it is "a condition in which God's will is being done." Others are more specific and say that it is "living according to the precepts laid down by Christ." Others, again, adopting a more mystical interpretation, declare it to be God himself. They doubtless place reliance on the significance of such phrases as "I am the way, the truth and the life." This is near the mark, for Christ was the living expression of the principles he preached; and the Kingdom obviously involves a particular personal relationship between God and individual Christians. "Life in God" is almost acceptable as a meaning. But it is not positive enough. It has not that practical and revolutionary quality that the passages relating to the Kingdom suggest.

Some investigators have concluded that the Kingdom is primarily a community acting on certain principles. The prevailing opinion, however, in the Church of England indicates that it is a principle which expresses itself in a community. When Christ remarked, in regard to little children, that "of such is the Kingdom of God", he did not imply that the Kingdom was a community, but that children had a natural capacity for particular behaviour. He may well have referred to their spontaneous ability to accept kindness and their un-self-conscious friendliness.

Nor is the Kingdom just a state of affairs; it is something that has to be undertaken, something practical. It is the object of this article to suggest that it is the Rule of Love (or, more specifically, the Rule of Self-sacrificing Kindness, inspired by God's own sacrifice and his presence in us).

The passages in the Gospels dealing with the Kingdom seem at first reading to comprise divergent and even conflicting aspects. Study of these passages at least tends to the conclusion that it is only in the Rule of Love that these apparently conflicting features can be reconciled.

The principle of self-sacrificing kindness was in some degree effective during Christ's ministry. Christ himself, of course, practised it. For that reason it was described as " here " and " within you ". It was mentioned elsewhere in the Gospels as being already in existence, as in the parable of the mustard seed.

The Kingdom was also suitably described as " nigh " or " at hand ", for it could not reach its complete availability and be fully operative until after the Crucifixion and the coming of the Holy Spirit.

In other passages it was described as something to be accomplished in the future. It cannot reach its ultimate fulfilment until the Rule of Love is triumphant. This explains the various references to the Kingdom which picture it as something happening at the end of the world.

Expert theologians have found no difficulty in reconciling the present and future aspects. One says: " The Kingdom is a present reality working towards a future consummation." Another says: " The Kingdom may be accepted now, and its blessings enjoyed in the end by those who have fulfilled the necessary conditions." This should not, of course, give the impression that some of its blessings are not immediately available.

Quite unnecessary confusion of mind sometimes results when people read passages in the Gospels where the Kingdom is described as a place which men enter, or from which they are excluded; or as a thing which they possess or are given. References such as these are often mistakenly supposed to amount to definitions. But they are, in fact, metaphorical expressions, used to intensify descriptions. A person who is undertaking the Rule of Love can be metaphorically described as entering a sphere of high endeavour. And someone who has become endowed with the perception requisite to the practice of the Rule of Love can be metaphorically described as possessing something valuable. If we give due recognition to the oriental proclivity for metaphor, these seemingly conflicting aspects need no longer perplex us. There can be no doubt that, whatever the meaning of " the Kingdom of God ", that expression is itself metaphorical. Most metaphors are intended both to intensify and to elucidate what is said. But Christ probably used this figure of speech enigmatically, because the full meaning of the Kingdom was to be a secret during his ministry, except to those selected for initiation.

Several of the vague and general interpretations of the Kingdom can surely be eliminated because they do not take adequate account of the obvious novelty of the principle enunciated by Christ in the Gospels. People were told that the Kingdom was at hand and that therefore they should repent, in the sense of undertaking a complete change of heart. The old selfishness was to be repudiated. Parables such as that of the leaven indicate that there is a new factor at work which is going to transform the world. The same emphasis on novelty is noticeable in St. John's Gospel. " Except a man be born anew, he cannot see [i.e., envisage] the Kingdom of God ".

This revolutionary and paradoxical scheme, of happiness to be secured by means of self-sacrificing kindness, had been disclosed in a limited degree to the Jews by prophets of an earlier period (Hosea vi, 6; Micah vi, 8). Jesus is twice reported as having quoted the Divine intimation, " I desire mercy [properly translated "kindness"] not sacrifice [i.e., formal sacrifices of animals]." On one of the occasions when Jesus is reported to have made this quotation, practical kindness was in question (Mt. ix, 13, also xii, 7). The essence of his own teaching was the practice of universal kindness leading to universal happiness. This, based as it was on his own self-sacrificing death and inspiration, was something entirely new.

It is in St. John's Gospel that we discover the essential novelty of the Rule of Love. Christ when speaking of the need for men to eat his flesh and drink his blood (as a token of their adoption of the principle of self-sacrifice) promised that those who did so should have "eternal life", which is the corresponding expression in St. John's Gospel for the Kingdom of God (St. John vi, 54). By means of the mystical doctrine of mutual indwelling between God and man, man is to be inspired to undertake and sustain the Rule of Love. Christ, in continuation of his promise of the Kingdom to those who would live lives of self-sacrificing kindness, told of the way in which they would be made capable of succeeding. " He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood abideth in me, and I in him " (St. John vi, 56). Without Christ's Spirit the endeavour would be hopeless.

St. John's Gospel also provides some answers to the problems that puzzle us when reading about the Kingdom in the first three Gospels. The central feature of Christ's message is mentioned twice, in similar terms: " A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; even as I have loved you, that ye also love one another." (xiii, 34; also xv, 12-13). These contexts attest the pre-eminence of this precept in Christ's teaching. The newness of the commandment is signified in the words " as I have loved you ". To love one another is no longer a rule of behaviour that people must work out among themselves. It is dependent on a personal association between God and man.

The novelty of the Kingdom of God as preached in the Gospels is, therefore, of the first importance in trying to understand it. It is unconvincing to interpret the meaning of this revolutionary conception in such general terms as " the Rule of God in the heart ", or " Living by the power and in the service of God ". Furthermore, no explanation of the meaning of the Kingdom is acceptable which fails to take account of the extreme difficulty with which it is undertaken. Some of the more general interpretations of the Kingdom do not square with the intensity of the moral struggle required of any initiate, as pictured in the Gospels. A man may have to part with home, wife or relations for the Kingdom's sake (Lk. xviii, 29). The strong emphasis on the difficulty with which a rich man will enter upon the Kingdom implies that the practitioner must be prepared to lead a life of unselfishness. This aspect of the Kingdom is explained in such passages as " If any man would come after me [i.e., act on my principles], let him deny himself [i.e., renounce self], and take up his cross, and follow me " (Mk. viii, 34-5), and " Whosoever doth not bear his own cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple " (Lk. xiv, 27).

But there is more direct evidence in the Gospels in support of the supposition that the Kingdom of God is the Rule of Love. On several occasions the principle of kindness between fellow-men is mentioned in connexion with the Kingdom. Christ is described as preaching the Kingdom of God and at the same time healing disease and all manner of sickness (Mt. iv, 23, ix, 35-6); and this suggests that the kindly service rendered is an illustration of the principle preached. Our Lord also sent forth his disciples to preach the Kingdom and at the same time to heal the sick (Mt. x, 7-8; Lk. ix, 2, 11). The same juxtaposition is found in the words " it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom. Sell all that you have, and give alms " (Lk. xii, 32-3). And, again, when one of the scribes agreed whole-heartedly with our Lord's exposition of the law of love for God and neighbour, he was told that he was not far from the Kingdom of God, meaning that he came near to possessing the qualifications necessary for being adopted into the Kingdom of God (Mk. xii, 33-4).

What do the Gospels tell us about the Kingdom of God in its consummation ? The answer is clearly given in the parable of the sheep and the goats (Mt. xxv, 31-46). Those who are to be qualified for the Kingdom are those who have been kind to their fellow-men; those, for instance, who have looked after the hungry, the unclothed, the sick, and the prisoners. No other qualification is mentioned in the story.

The Kingdom of God was during Christ's life on earth a mystery, in the sense of a secret disclosed to a selected few (Mt. xiii, 11; Mk. iv, 11). The deeper meaning, at least, was only confided to disciples. There were local and particular reasons why it would have been difficult for many of our Lord's hearers to accept the principle of the Kingdom. First, the Jews had long heard of a Kingdom of God with a material sovereignty; and they would have found readjustment especially hard. Secondly, Christ's inspiring example of the highest possible sacrifice was not yet before them; and the paradoxical feature of a life being gained by being lost would, before the Crucifixion, have appeared to them as an inscrutable enigma. Finally, it was an integral part of Christ's method to treat the new religion as something to be discovered, so as to make its due impression, something to be grappled with, so as to induce an effective decision.

In so far as the meaning of the Kingdom of God is still in any sense a secret to-day, it is so only in this last sense. But no one can afford not to find a meaning. It is obviously the core of the Gospel teaching. It is, in fact, an open secret to everyone who is intent on finding the happiness of sharing in God's self-sacrifice.

REVIEWS

N. P. WILLIAMS

N. P. WILLIAMS. By E. W. KEMP. S.P.C.K. 21s.

MR. Kemp, instead of calling this book by the plain name *N. P. Williams*, might have chosen a fancy title, and he would perhaps have found an appropriate one in the words of the Psalmist: *I deal with the thing that is lawful and right.* Orthodoxy and the law of the Church determined both the form and content of much of Williams's writing and preaching. Yet he was no Pharisee lawyer, nor of the school of Mr. Legality in *Pilgrim's Progress*. He did not use law to find a way round or a way out, but to find a way in. His strength lay in getting to the heart of a matter. He stated the principles which he believed to be the relevant ones, and drew the inevitable conclusions with perfect lucidity—or at any rate he made them seem inevitable, for he was a rhetorician in the best sense of the word, and in fact, when everything is taken into account, he is first and foremost a splendid rhetorician. His practical conclusions sometimes misfired. He assumed that, because they are inevitable, he had thereby indicated the way in which men must act, but men too often remain illogical and pig-headed. The inevitable is not necessarily the irresistible.

But when it was the matter of a sermon Williams was in the very first rank. In a way such eloquence might be called old-fashioned. It was so cultivated, so carefully studied, so monumentally built up. It moved all the time towards a crisis and a conclusion in the stateliest manner possible. The knowledge it embodied was that of a scholar not calling on his profoundest stores of learning. The history was shot through with imagination, the divinity with the authority of the ancients. The eight sermons in this book are really very fine indeed, and they have the added attraction of being on great subjects. Christ Church at Oxford has had in its canons perhaps the best teams of preachers in the Church of England these last hundred years, and of all these great scholars and divines Williams might be reckoned the best since J. B. Mozley. But Mozley, as I have been told by one who frequently heard them, made nothing of his delivery.

The sermons occupy just about one half of the book. It contains also two papers on specific Church problems, where the sermon is replaced by the delivery of a judgement. The remainder of the book is biographical. Mr. Kemp in less than seventy pages has sketched the outline of Williams's life. He was born at Durham in 1883, transferred himself to Oxford at the age of nineteen, and died there after a scarcely interrupted residence of just on forty years. It was essentially an academic life, and Mr. Kemp has almost done it justice. Mrs.

Williams has contributed eight pages of more domestic scenes which mingle delight with a strain of pathos.

It was right that a preacher and divine of such great distinction should be the subject of a memorial volume, and of one so attractive to read and with so much good divinity in it. But Williams was perhaps neither so frivolous in his youth nor so difficult in later years as we might conclude from these pages. A young man may have frivolous friends, as Williams certainly had, but they may be, and in his case surely were, only incidental to the life of a very determined scholar. A man may be somewhat difficult at times, or shy, or seemingly dogmatic, but, unless he is a very extreme case, such times fill a very small part of the twenty-four hours. Mr. Kemp has possibly made a little too much of all this. N.P.W. was eminently human, so much so that, while one wishes heartily that he had had the satisfaction of completing and publishing his commentary on Romans and of preaching some more of his wonderful sermons, one wishes still more that he had lived to be seventy and so to see his son get both a First in Honour Mods. and a Cricket Blue in 1953.

A review ought obviously to be somewhat detached, but I may perhaps be permitted to end with a personal recollection. Williams and I went up to Oxford as freshmen in the same term, and I soon got to know him by sight and name. Some of us used to be amused at his close resemblance to the portrait of King Charles I as a youth which hangs (or used to hang) in the Examination Schools. It seems to me that there was an interior resemblance too. He had King Charles's love of his family and of beautiful things, his unsullied life, and something of his stiffness. If he did not have his head chopped off for love of the Church, it was only for want of opportunity. Had things come to that point with him, he would not have blenched, he would not have yielded an inch. If he was not a Martyr, he deserves at least to be numbered with the Confessors.

Adam Fox.

A CRITICISM OF FREUD

Psychoanalysis and Personality. By Joseph Nuttin. Sheed and Ward. 16s.

The author of this book is a distinguished experimental psychologist of the University of Louvain, from which (under the leadership of Professor Michotte) have come many of the most valuable contributions to psychology made in Europe during recent years. Professor Nuttin is well qualified to write on psychoanalysis, since he combines a sound knowledge and appreciation of the work of Freud with a critical approach which is determined by his theoretical position as an experimental psychologist and a Catholic priest. The book is divided into two main parts, of which the first is a sympathetic but critical survey of the theory of psychoanalysis, while the second is a sketch of a dynamic theory of personality which takes full account of the contributions of psychoanalysis while not neglecting the points of view which have been developed in other fields of psychological study.

The author's attitude towards Freudianism is made clear in the opening paragraph of his preface, in which he writes: " As an isolated dogmatic system Freudism is out of date, but as a source of new ideas about man's psychic life it was never more active or more fruitful." He parts company from Freud (and from a good deal of non-Freudian contemporary psychology) by the emphasis which he places on the cognitive, rational, and self-determining side of man. He rejects the view that all motivation can be reduced to disguised forms of instinctive dynamisms, although he agrees that unconscious or obscure motivation may make it possible for a person to be largely deceived as to the real reason for his actions. He may, for example, have an unconscious tendency to exploit the advantages of invalidism while he consciously holds the idea that he accepts his suffering for the love of God. But Professor Nuttin considers that we cannot here say merely that the patient is mistaken about his motives, since the conscious acceptance of resignation to the will of God is also a real element in the total dynamism of his behaviour. Thus, a spiritual element may be a real dynamic factor in behaviour even when it is not the sole factor. The advance towards freedom is the progressive substitution of such consciously chosen motives for unconscious instinctive motives, an advance which may be made easier by the therapeutic process of attaining awareness of the unconscious roots of his illness.

The author is not wholly satisfied with Freud's idea that behaviour patterns not compatible with the accepted standards of the personality are repressed into the Unconscious. He finds that this view seems to imply that repression is an all-or-none process, and also that what is so dealt with remains active until the repression is removed. Professor Nuttin would substitute for this idea that of a graded process of separation of the personality into layers of which one consists of the *intimate* level into which are relegated dynamic contents which do not agree with the actual form of the personality. The problem of creating a balanced personality is, then, that of resolving the tension between these intimate contents and the *persona* which is the public aspect of the personality. The tension does not, in Professor Nuttin's view, depend on the intimate contents of the personality being unconscious but in their being relatively inassimilable to the public *persona;* psychic disturbance may arise from the individual failing to reconcile himself with some of the facts of his intimate personality.

An appendix contains a useful appraisal of the contribution made by Adler's " individual psychology ". Adler was not a writer of the intellectual stature of Freud, and, although his ideas have won wide popular acceptance, they have generally been rejected by scientific critics, since they have seemed to them to be illogical and unscientific. Yet Dr. Nuttin recognizes that, under this unscientific appearance, there are ideas which are interesting and important which also need to be incorporated into a complete dynamic theory of personality. He finds particularly important Adler's idea that the symptoms of mental illness may be ways of achieving the aims of the personality by means which do not belong to the level of social reality; a sense of inferiority may, for example, lead the patient to try to achieve his aim of dominating others not directly but by concentrating their attention on himself by means of illness. The aim of therapy is, then, to get the patient to understand the psychic causes of his illness and to make possible his normal development by the restoration of his courage and self-confidence.

Professor Nuttin's book is not likely to commend itself to those enthusiastic Freudians who regard psychoanalysis as a system of dogma which must be accepted in its entirety. Nor is it likely to be acceptable to those amongst the experimental psychologists who reject psychoanalysis as a system of speculation with no proper scientific foundation. There are others, however, who regard psychoanalytic theory as a system of thought which must be integrated with psychology as a whole, and, in this process, must itself be subject to a process of revision. In this process of integration it may be considered that Professor Nuttin has taken a considerable step.

R. H. THOULESS.

THE CHRISTIAN HOPE

THE CHRISTIAN HOPE. THE PRESENCE AND THE PAROUSIA. By J. E. FISON. Longmans, Green & Co. 21s.

"HOPE IS, for most people, the Cinderella of the Theological Virtues."[1] And, it may be said, when she is taken out she is dressed up to look like Faith. The reason for this neglect and misunderstanding, Canon Fison would say, is that Christians since the first generation have found it easier to believe in the Presence than the Parousia. It is difficult not to agree with him that the rank and file of orthodox Christendom have not generally allowed the thought of the Second Coming to colour their piety or affect their conduct. The emotionally effective eschatology of most Christians has consisted in recollection of the particular judgement which awaits each of us at death, the thought that the individual, at death, sees Christ quite plain. *Inde venturus* is still in the creed, but the Church has quietly forgotten it. It has been remembered and taught, out of its context, by the millenarian sects, and has achieved a new and sinister form in the most powerful rival of Christianity. Much of the enthusiasm of the Communists, and much of their appeal, may be accounted for by their unconscious appropriation, *via* the Jewish Marx, of the apocalyptic hope. The Second Coming is the Revolution, the Church the Communist Party, the Millennium the Communist Commonwealth. Yet this coming again of Christ is "the centre of the Christian hope" and "the great Church must rediscover the secret of the parousia; for only so can she . . . minister to the contemporary world at its point of deepest need." Canon Fison's book is "an incentive and aid" to this ministry.

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[1] F. P. Harton, *The Elements of the Spiritual Life*, 1936, (p. 43).

The core of the book is an examination of the Biblical hope in Old and New Testaments. Its thesis is that the central symbol of Biblical eschatology is the parousia; that is to say, that the distinctively Biblical and Christian teaching about the last things is the coming of God to man in Christ. If I have understood the diagram on p. 43 aright, this coming includes the confrontation of the individual at the end of his life, and of the human race at the end of time. This parousia is the meeting to which all life points forward (" Real life is meeting "), and it involves judgement. The last assize is therefore the corollary of the parousia. But it is genuine meeting (*Dies Irae* emphasizes only one aspect), the climax and transformation of all previous meetings, and this is the meaning of the resurrection of the body. In this life " we live by faith in a world which love transforms, and we live in hope of a world which love will have transformed. 'Journeys end in lovers meeting' puts in a sentence the secret of the eschatological transformation. Love is the turbine or the transformer which converts water into power, objects into persons, and a distant panorama of the last things into an imminent prospect of the person who is coming. That is the perspective of the Bible." These themes are elaborated in chapters on the theology of the Church, the day of the Lord, the parousia of our Lord, the pattern of development, the secret of mysticism and the shape of eschatology.

The book is timely, for it is a subject which so clearly needs exploring that it has been taken as the theme of an important interdenominational conference in the United States this summer. There are some excellent things in it: for example, the pages in which the relation of the apostolic preaching of Christ to our Lord's preaching of the Kingdom is discussed; the recurring insistence on the relation of hope with love, of the presence now to the parousia then; and above all the stress on the initiative of God in the salvation of men. No Christian who takes the Bible seriously could fail to be helped and stimulated by all this. There are, however, also some criticisms to be made.

It should be said, I think, that the book is too long and repetitive. The same ideas, the same quotations, the same asides, the same homiletic and pastoral applications recur to the point of wearisomeness. It is perhaps an ungracious complaint to make of a book which is written with excitement and conviction, and which expressly does not claim to cover the whole field of eschatological doctrine, to say that it falls between the stools of academic and hortatory writing. But the book does claim to be an exposition of the Biblical hope, and does not quite satisfy the expectations aroused in the mind of at any rate one reader. The chapter on the day of the Lord in the Old Testament is very good; the criticism of the concept of " realized eschatology " and of von Hügel's treatment of the Matthaean apocalyptic material is useful and discerning; but the treatment of the New Testament is patchy and un-even; there is very little, for example, on *Hebrews,* although the alliance of eschatology with mysticism is very close to the theme of the book. The interesting aside, " there was necessarily a time-lag between the revelation of Jesus Christ and the Church's understanding of it ", is not followed up satisfactorily. Since Canon Fison leans so heavily on modern interpreters of Scripture, notably on Cullmann and Buber, it is a pity he pays no attention to the fresh formulations of the theology of the last things and of some of the problems of moral theology which are involved (for hope, after all, is a virtue) by contemporary Roman Catholic writers (cf. R. Aubert, *La théologie catholique au millieu du xx^e^ siécle,* published after this book).

There is a certain superficiality about parts of the book. Canon Fison recurs, for example, to the dangers of the organic view of the Church, and is afraid that Holy Church may replace Holy Spirit in the Blessed Trinity. It is a far cry from the idea of the unity of Baal with his people to the idea of the mystical body of Christ. There is, it is true, such a thing as an unethical sacramentalism, but the organic view in itself does not exclude personal responsibility and the demand for ethical response. To suggest that it does is to give a serious misrepresentation of Catholicism. Perhaps it is an example of the ecclesiastical *hubris* which Canon Fison deplores, but I am not convinced by the implied thesis that the long history of the Church has been one of decline and fall, one long failure to understand the teaching of Christ—until the middle of the twentieth century.

There is always need, however, for *le retour aux sources,* and there has been a very striking return both in Catholic and Protestant theology of the last quarter of a century. It is true that the separated communions of Christendom, in isolation from each other, develop one-sided theologies. There is great need today for the different traditions of Christendom to learn from each other, and many pages of this book reflect the desire of its author to achieve a right synthesis. For all that this book does to meet these two needs, and for the eager enthusiasm with which this most important subject is represented to us, we should be most grateful.

R. CANT.

EVANGELICALS AT OXFORD

THE EVANGELICALS AT OXFORD, 1735-1871. By S. J. REYNOLDS, M.A., B.LITT. Blackwell. 25s.

THE Methodist Movement of the eighteenth century has received liberal attention from historians and theologians, not only through many studies of its leaders, John and Charles Wesley, but its impact has been traced on the social and spiritual climate of the day, and its theological outlook explored in many directions. No such attention has been devoted to the Evangelicals, though from time to time various sectional studies have appeared. Mr. Reynolds has here produced a work which deals exhaustively with a limited field of inquiry, the University and city of Oxford. One of the merits of this book is that " town " as well as " gown " is brought into the survey, thus justifying its title in contrast to other recent works; for as the history of Evangelicalism repeatedly shows, the movement has been strongest, and made its greatest contribution to the life of the Church in its emphasis on the pastoral ministry.

Commencing with the foundation and activities of the " Holy Club ", and the subsequent connection of its members with the University until 1744, the author deals in some detail with the next notable landmark, the expulsion of six students from St. Edmund Hall in 1768, after they had been summoned before the Vice-Chancellor on the complaint of their tutor for " preaching and expounding doctrines contrary to those of the Church of England, and frequenting illicit conventicles ". Despite this setback, however, Evangelical undergraduates continued to find a spiritual home in this college, largely due to the influence of Isaac Crouch, Daniel Wilson (later Bishop of Calcutta), and John Hill, who provided a succession of like-minded vice-principals from 1783 to 1851. From 1831, Wadham, under the wardenship of Benjamin Symons, also attracted Evangelicals, and the movement became more generally diffused throughout the University. Yet a greater setback than that of 1768 was the secession of Newman in 1845, from which date Evangelical parents in increasing numbers decided that Cambridge provided a more suitable atmosphere for their sons' education. At Oxford, influence gradually shifted to the parishes, where at St. Ebbe's, St. Clement's, St. Peter-le-Bailey and St. Aldate's, the ministries of Champneys and Hathaway, Litton, Henry Linton, and in particular Canon Christopher (as he became) drew large congregations, and provided opportunities for the claims of foreign missions to be presented to the many undergraduates who attended these churches. Mr. Reynolds decisively disposes of the familiar criticism that the Evangelicals never achieved academic distinction, and indeed were uninterested in scholarship. During the thirty years before Newman's secession, there were twenty-three " firsts ", including five double " firsts " among undoubted Evangelicals, which in days of short class lists affords striking evidence of intellectual quality, and includes such famous names as Lords Harrowby and Shaftesbury, Bishops Ryle and Waldegrave, and E. A. Litton. Between 1833 and 1869, ten pronounced Evangelicals were selected as Bampton lecturers, while six were elected fellows of the Royal Society—in all, no mean achievement.

Two conclusions may perhaps be drawn from this study. The Evangelicals, though never large in numbers at Oxford, as elsewhere, yet exercised an influence out of all proportion to their numerical strength. It is also made clear that their weakness lay in a lack of coherence, and too great a dependence upon individual personality to the neglect of building up a corporate policy, or the formulation of a generally recognised body of teaching. The book is disappointing as being rather a catalogue of facts, names and places than a connected discourse. It should not on this account be neglected, however, for it is a veritable mine of information, and the publishers are to be congratulated on the high quality of its illustrations and the excellence of its production.

COLLISS DAVIES.

UNITY IN VARIETY

AESTHETICS AND THE GESTALT. By IAN RAWLINGS. Nelson. 1953. 18s.

IT is not uncommon to find professional scientists who are interested in some branch of art, and it is even possible to find professional artists or art critics who have some kind of interest in science, but it is very rarely that the same person has an equal competence in both fields and sees the two as organically connected. Mr. Rawlins, who is the Director of the Scientific Department of the National Gallery, is one of these rare persons, and it is this that gives to the book under review an interest that one would hardly expect to find in a collection of essays on a large variety of subjects written over a period of nearly twenty years and consisting for the most part of not very long reviews of books.

The set of essays with which the book opens, on the philosophy of art in general and painting in particular, make the reader long to see them expanded into a full-length book. When that takes place it will help the general reader not a little if a full but popular exposition is given of the scientific theories to which reference is made. For Mr. Rawlins's thesis is that artistic creation is an activity which is very much more amenable (however analogically) to scientific discussion than is usually realized. There are two scientific notions in particular which he finds specially illuminating. One is the law of *Prägnanz* of the Gestalt-psychology, which states that psychological organization will always be as " good " (that is, regular, symmetrical, simple, satisfying, etc.) as the prevailing conditions allow. The other is derived from physical chemistry, and is expressed in Le Chatelier's principle and the law of mass-action. According to these, a process once initiated tends to meet with opposition which slows down further progress, and the products of the process, unless removed from the sphere of operations, drive the process in the reverse direction and so inhibit the completion of the process itself. Some such analogies as these may have been suggested before, but where Mr. Rawlins shows his originality and insight is in the evidence which he brings from his own special expertise, namely X-ray and infra-red photography of paintings, in support of his thesis. The relevance of this technique is, of course, that it frequently reveals the early stages of the artist's work, with its tentative experiments and its changes of mind, which are covered by the human eye or the ordinary photographic camera. It is much to be desired that Mr. Rawlins will develop his argument at greater length, so that it may receive attention and criticism from other persons, if any there be, who are as competent as he is in his chosen field.

The remaining essays are of an almost baffling variety. Mathematical logic, cybernetics, metaphysics, epistemology, social philosophy: all these receive attention in studies which impress by their penetration while they sometimes provoke by their allusiveness. But this only means that we cannot all know as much about so much as Mr. Rawlins does. And there are several essays on Husserlian phenomenology.

We can only ask for more from his pen, and from his cameras. Every page almost which he writes bears witness to his devotion to his work and to his sense of vocation in it; it is not perhaps impertinent to suggest what in fact his writing reveals: that the source of this devotion lies in his unqualified acceptance of the Christian religion and the theology that derives from it.

There are ten superbly reproduced photographic illustrations. But there is a mysterious allusion in the foreword to a frontispiece which does not seem to have materialized.

E. L. MASCALL.

BAPTISMAL THEORY

THE BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF INFANT BAPTISM. By P. Ch. MARCEL. Translated by P. E. HUGHES. James Clarke & Co. pp. 256. 15s.

THIS book was originally published in French for *La Revue Reformé* which had been founded a few months previously by the author and his friends. M. Pierre Marcel is a pastor of the French Reformed Church, who in addition to his duties as editor of the *Revue* is president of the Calvinist Society of France and lectures in the free faculty of theology in the university of Paris. The book is of particular interest to English readers for it is an attempt to ground the practice of infant baptism in sound theology. It affords a striking illustration of the different ways in which continental and English theologians attempt to grapple with the problems occasioned by the traditional methods of pastoral practice. Its purpose as M. Marcel himself defines it, is " to offer some enlightenment of mind on the question of the baptism of infants which in France as in almost every country, is much in prominence at the present time."

The book, like all Gaul, is divided into three parts of which the first presents a general exposition of the doctrine of the Sacraments defined as signs and seals, instituted by Christ and of perpetual validity until the parousia. Sacraments are dependent upon and joined to the Word, for their office is to " subscribe and confirm the Word and make it all the more firm to us ". This doctrine rests on the presupposition that the Word can exist and be complete without the sacraments, but that the sacraments can never be complete without the Word. There is no special baptismal grace or eucharistic grace. The sacraments, like the Word are true means of grace and the source of their efficacy is the grace of Christ and the action of the Holy Spirit. They are only efficacious for those who receive them with faith. The second part of the discussion seeks to elucidate the meaning of the term, 'the covenant of grace'. "God decided to substitute his patience and his grace for the demands of his justice. This is the eternal covenant of the Father", a covenant of grace because freely given to men. It is a trinitarian covenant, essentially the same in all dispensations, although the form of its administration changes. The phrase "I will be your God", expresses the substance of the covenant in both old and new testaments. Within this covenant there is an essential unity of the various sacraments of the old and new dispensations (despite some important differences) while the church is the new Israel grafted into the old so that there is now but a single people of God. An important short section (pp. 124-136) discusses the unconverted in the covenant and the church, sharing in the communal blessings and bearing for that reason an especial responsibility. The third and longest part treats of baptism as the sacrament of the covenant of grace, but only about a half of this section is devoted to the particular problem of the baptism of infants. The core of the argument is that the "children of believing parents are baptized by reason of the fact that they are children of the covenant and as such heirs of all the promises made by God at the institution of this covenant". Within the one covenant infant baptism in the new dispensation takes the place of circumcision in the old.

Three further comments may be allowed. First, M. Marcel deplores "the inconsistency of protestants who wish to found baptism upon tradition or upon the authority of the reformers and do not use the Word of God as fundamental and formative". Yet the method of interpretation which he employs is traditional in reformed circles. Considerable use is made of the great reformed confessions and the authority of "that great and notable apostle, John Calvin" is effectively used in many lengthy citations from his writings. The book would have gained from a more just evaluation of the importance of tradition. Secondly, admirable as is the careful and orderly discussion of the basic themes in the attempt to set the subject in its true theological context, the use of scripture rests upon presuppositions different from those shared by most Anglicans. No discrimination is made between the several parts of scripture which may bear on the subject and passages are frequently quoted in almost a proof-text fashion. A curious omission is any extended discussion of the significance of the baptism of Christ, particularly in view of the author's dependence on Cullman in several places. Thirdly, in acknowledging that "the cause of paedobaptism is theologically lost", M. Marcel attempts to overthrow the magisterial authority of Barth and to supply a theological and dogmatic justification for the practice of infant baptism. It cannot be said that he has succeeded in his task. Despite an assertion to the contrary, there is presented a difference between adult baptism, which in Marcel's view is efficacious as a means of grace only for those who receive it with faith, while for infants, it seals and confirms the covenant of God, apart from the exercise of faith by the recipients of the sacrament. If in the covenant, children are heirs of all the promises of God, there seems to be no compelling reason on this ground alone for the practice of infant baptism. Marcel speaks continually of the baptism of children of believers and so makes no contribution to the problem of indiscriminate baptism in a post-Christian society, except what may be inferred from his general arguments. The book has been admirably translated, but the lack of an index of scriptural quotations and of general topics is a serious blemish.

F. J. TAYLOR.

AN EMINENT CATHOLIC

CARDINAL GASQUET: A MEMOIR. By SHANE LESLIE. Burns Oates. 21s.

WRITTEN with Sir Shane Leslie's usual accomplishment, this memoir, really a series of essays, with some letters and a " Roman Diary ", gives a striking picture of this English Benedictine cardinal, historian, diplomat and old English gentleman. Francis Neil Aidan Gasquet (1846-1929) was descended from French Royalist stock, the son of a London doctor. Educated at Downside School, he took the Benedictine habit there and became an ecclesiastic of high distinction: Prior and Abbot of Downside and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, rather than a scholar, a theologian or an historian. He represented England in the College of Cardinals in Rome during the first World War when the only Allied diplomat at the Vatican was the Belgian Monsignor Deplorge, for although Orthodox Russia was represented by a Minister he could hardly be counted as a friend to the Catholic Church. Gasquet, who had been Abbot of Downside, was already a figure of importance, the author of a book that had made considerable stir, on *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries,* and his influence was sufficient to decide the British Government, at this critical time, to appoint a diplomatic mission, headed by a Minister, to the Holy See, the first since Tudor days. This and his splendid efforts on behalf of his country in Rome during the war might seem to be Gasquet's chief claim on remembrance.

In all his achievements—and they were many—he had the most wonderful luck. In regard to his monastery it was his contemporary Edmund Ford rather than he who (if any one man may claim the honour) may be said to have made Downside—the ghost of Glastonbury, one of the great old English abbeys rearisen. As an historian Gasquet's reputation must rest on his *Henry VIII and the English*

Monasteries and on his *Edward VI and the First Prayer-book,* which depended upon the scholarship of Edmund Bishop. When Bishop died and the cardinal was left without his support he produced that unfortunate work on the *Old English Bible* which roused the venomous wrath of G. G. Coulton, who pursued him throughout his life. And it was the same with the controversy over Anglican Orders. It was Edmund Bishop who divined the existence of the Papal Bull of the time of Queen Mary Tudor (Sep. 22, 1555) the discovery of which tied the Pope's hands and really decided the issue. That issue, by the way, was as little appreciated by the English people as was Edmund Bishop. When the Papal decision was reported in the Press nervous people rushed to the post offices to inquire if their postal orders were " null and void ".

As for Bishop, that great scholar and liturgiologist, though only England could have produced him, and though he was admired by Waitz, Wittenbach and Liebermann and compared by Leclerq to an " oracular sibyl ", the English had never heard of him or indeed of them. As Sir Shane Leslie says, " the most effete don at the universities, the feeblest columnist in a Church paper was more celebrated."

Nor was Gasquet less lucky in diplomacy. He was created cardinal in May, 1914, and in Rome throughout the critical years of the first World War he had the devoted support and service of the English Benedictine monk Dom Philip Langdon, who knew Italy and the Italian language better than the Italians—a language which Gasquet could only speak with hesitation. When " Don Filippo " fifteen years later fell ill and left him Gasquet died.

All this good fortune does not belittle Gasquet's very real services any more than similar good luck belittles Queen Elizabeth's. Both found and knew how to use the abilities of the men they needed. Gasquet's splendid and upright personality was finely expressed in his aristocratic appearance, his dignity and bearing, and in his wit. He was an admirable representative of England in the Vatican, trusted by the Pope and respected by England's enemies. He was during the first World War " the eye and voice of England ". And of course his very real and important services were never recognized by the British Government, which preferred to remain in his unacknowledged debt.

When misfortune at last came he knew how to bear it with dignity and courage. He was disappointed of the archbishopric of Westminster when all but in his grasp. The Pope had appointed him in 1907 as the president of the Commission for a critical revision of the Vulgate, and though Gasquet's scholarship was surely not equal to such a task, he presided over the commission with tact and success and in 1913 lectured in America to raise funds for this costly business. The work was suspended during the war; in 1917 the Pope appointed him Prefect of the Archives of the Holy See and in 1919 Librarian of the Holy Roman Church. All this time, and until his death in 1929 as the

English Cardinal in Curia, he was the centre of English life in Rome. Everyone called on him, and in 1924 he received King George V and Queen Mary and showed them the treasures of the Vatican library. He died in Rome on April 5, 1929, in the absence of Don Filippo, but surrounded by his Benedictines to whom he repeated Saint Benedict's motto: *Ora et Labora.* He is buried in the abbey church at Downside where he began, in a grandiose tomb by Sir Giles Scott.

Sir Shane Leslie's book gives a vivid portrait of this remarkable English ecclesiastic, and is not without a little "back stairs" gossip which certainly lends it savour.

EDWARD HUTTON.

ORIGEN ON PRAYER

ORIGEN'S TREATISE ON PRAYER. Translation and Notes with an account of the practice and doctrine of prayer from New Testament times to Origen. By ERIC GEORGE JAY. S.P.C.K., 1954. 237 pages. 27s. 6d.

ORIGEN'S treatise On Prayer has come down to us in one fifteenth-century manuscript, Holmiensis, of Trinity College, Cambridge, which may conceivably have passed through the hands of Elizabeth of Bohemia, "Th' eclipse and glory of her kind". The first competent edition, that of Reading (1728), was enriched with notes by an unnamed Englishman, who may (Dr. Jay suggests) perhaps be identified as Herbert Thorndike, a former owner of the manuscript. Delarue (1733) recorded textual conjectures communicated to him by Richard Bentley, and printed also a scholarly and accurate Latin version by Claude Fleury. The book is important as containing one of the earliest (the earliest extant Greek) commentaries on the Lord's Prayer (chapters xxii to xxx) as well as much else of great value on prayer in general and on questions arising in connexion with it. In chapters v to vii there is a noteworthy statement and criticism of the allegation that as all things are foreknown and foreordained by God, prayer is otiose, Origen's solution being that the prayer itself is within God's foreknowledge and is included in the conditions of predestination. The discussion of the prerequisites of acceptable prayer includes the profound observation that (even apart from direct answer) the preparation of the mind for prayer is prayer's best reward, as well as the suggestion that the whole life of a man can be prayer in action. There is much else in this crowded book of the highest spiritual value, and Dr. Jay is to be thanked for putting it within the reach of those who do not read Greek with ease.

There is also much of which the common mind of Christendom has disapproved—though these matters are not as a rule obtruded on the reader. In the suggestion that prayer should not be addressed to Christ but only to the Father, and that the Son is worshipful only in the sense in which Isaiah says the gentiles will come and worship

Jerusalem, Origen is in opposition (and admits that he is in opposition) to common Christian conviction and practice, sowing the seed of those evils which a century later were to issue from Alexandria for the affliction of Christendom. The fact that a youth of seventeen was placed in charge of the Catechetical School of Alexandria is an indication not only of the youth's virtuosity but also of the dearth of competent teachers from which that Church must have been suffering: ability and industry he had in abundance, but to the end of his career he lacked experience of the common man. He makes much of the saying (which he quotes as scripture) " Ask for the great things (meaning ' spiritual ' things, in his sense of the word) and the small things shall be added unto you ", and is scornful (for example) of the idea that " daily bread " (whatever the meaning of ἐπιούσιος, of which he has a long and interesting discussion in chapter xxvii) can possibly mean earthly food—whereas any pastor knows that the truth often is that men ask for earthly things (and thereby learn to pray) and receive in addition not only earthly things but heavenly. It was perhaps also not entirely of advantage to Origen that his rich friend supplied him with a staff of shorthand writers, for by not writing his own works he missed the salutary exercise of pruning his words: every thought that comes into his mind goes down on paper, obtains permanent record, and makes all his works difficult to read. Such must be the explanation, among others, of the unseemly remark at the beginning of chapter xiii, " and perhaps he would not have received it apart from prayer "—an inconceivable contingency the mere mention of which is irreverent.

Dr. Jay has done his work with competence, and often with distinction: he is alive to the matters we have adverted to, and often comments upon them, always with sympathy and discretion. His Introduction discusses the general doctrine and practice of prayer in the early Church, with special reference to its most notable exponents. The sections on Origen, his life and works, his doctrine, and his teaching on prayer, are thorough enough to arouse interest, while brief enough to be intelligible in themselves and to encourage further enquiry. The translation is (as far as we have tested it) as accurate as a translation of such verbose Greek can be: if the reader finds it difficult to follow at a first reading, he will recollect that this results from the complicated thought and undigested expression of the author, not from the translator, and that a second and even a third reading will bring out things missed at the first. Dr. Jay's notes also (under the text) are excellent both in form and matter. Those of them which bear on doubtful points of textual reading often cite Bentley's emendations—which possibly might more frequently have been preferred to Delarue's text. Other notes, explanatory or critical of subject matter or of difficult sentences, are admirably discreet and clear. There are very few places where we find ourselves unable to agree. On page 81 one would suggest (in spite of Reading's *Anglus*) that εὔχομαι can only mean " I boast " when it refers to something which concerns oneself: in the present case it must mean "I pray", and if that (as it does) causes Origen to make a remark of excessive impertinence and in very bad taste, that is not the only such remark in ancient Christian writing: Tertullian frequently indulges in them, and even Cyprian is not exempt, and there is another on page 212 of this book, where Dr. Jay has a wise note. On page 99, for "eagerly to give praise and blame" the Greek is ἐόρμάν καὶ επαινεῖν καὶ ψέγιν which gives the meaning "exhort and praise and blame".

Origen's treatise On Prayer could be of great help to those who value direction in the ways of godliness. His knowledge of the Scriptures was phenomenal, and every page has material for some meditation or sermon. Many to whom this has been a closed book will be grateful to Dr. Jay for having opened it to them.

E. EVANS.

THE LOST LEADER

PROPHECY AND PAPACY. A STUDY OF LAMENNAIS, THE CHURCH AND THE REVOLUTION. By A. R. VIDLER. The Birkbeck Lectures 1952-3. S.C.M. Press. 25s.

"THE greatest individual loss which the Church has sustained for four hundred years." "His career is little less than the mirror of his age." Such judgements by modern writers, the justice of which will seem to many to be borne out by Dr. Vidler's learned and authoritative study, make it somewhat surprising that no full-length treatment of its subject should have appeared in English until now. The wording of its sub-title should be noted. Dr. Vidler, though he does devote a good deal of space to Lamennais' origins and early life, is not writing a biography, and he brings his story to an end when its hero's life ceases to belong to the history of the Church. Again, he deals with "the Revolution" only so far as this made its impact upon the Church and upon Lamennais as a Catholic thinker. Dr. Vidler is justified in this, for his essential theme is that stated in his book's main title. But with so little said about the social and economic background of France between 1815 and 1835, an important factor in the tragedy of Lamennais is perhaps insufficiently explained.

Lamennais enters history as a main influence in that effort towards the recovery of religion after 1815 in which orthodoxy and romanticism joined hands. But while for most Catholics in France the "Restoration" meant a re-establishment of the old relation of Church and King along Gallican lines, this was not at all the sort of restoration in which Lamennais was interested. "Society", he declared, "awaits for its rebirth a new Christian initiative." The "restoration" he sought was that of a Catholic culture in which the Church would come to stand in a similar sort of relation to the new society emergent in the nineteenth century to that in which she had stood to the medieval order in the thirteenth. This, he thought, involved a breakaway from Cartesian influences in apologetic and Gallican influences in ecclesiastical affairs. Neither Lamennais' antecedents nor his aspirations inclined him to any sentimental feelings towards bishops or Bourbons, and since he put not his trust in princes it was natural that he should begin by putting a good deal of it in pontiffs. It was his vivid sense of the need for a new spiritual initiative which led to his rather naïve ultramontanism. He envisaged the papacy as raised above all earthly commitments, failing for long to realize that it was in its own way—and at that date perhaps unavoidably—as much entangled with the politics of the European Powers as was the French Church with the apparatus of the French State

The liberty which Lamennais first preached as a strategy for releasing the Church from secular bondage, rapidly became for him a value in itself as well as a basis for an ambitious ecclesiastical programme. There was nothing wrong in this; where Lamennais was wrong was in supposing that any Pope—much less Gregory XVI—could possibly be induced to change the whole course of ecclesiastical policy until the ground had been well prepared for such a revolution. The Pope, for his part, was disastrously wrong in repeatedly forcing " submissions " on this prophetic spirit, and leaving him with apparently nothing to hope for within the fold of the faithful.

This book, with its penetrating Epilogue, is a study at once of a " tension " recurrent in the history of religion, and of its tragic mishandling in this illuminating instance. It is not difficult for us to say now what Lamennais " ought " to have done. He ought to have been more patient; more ready to wait upon God's good time and to count upon the validity of his own prophetic insights to make their own way; more sceptical of the result of calling in the new humanitarian " progressive " movements to redress the balance of the old religious stagnation. We have the history of a hundred years to help us to be thus wise after the event; moreover, we are not tortured, as Lamennais came more and more to be, by the spectacle of the sufferings endured by the miserable victims of the early phases of industrialism in France —a matter upon which Dr. Vidler might well have said more than he has. The theme of his book is of course essentially a religious one, a theme of the first importance, and it was no doubt necessary to his purpose to isolate this to a large extent from the secular history of the period, economic and political.

Lamennais, however, was by no means isolated from the impact which that history made upon his spirit. In the end it was the influence of such events on his sensitive nature which, more perhaps than any failure of character, tripped him up and brought him down. In 1830, and again in 1848, " revolution " meant something very different from what it has come to mean since 1917; it had its darker side, but it had still a natural and almost irresistible appeal to those of lively imagination and generous heart. Men of this type, faced with an ecclesiastical authority insensitive to such challenges, are understandably led into mistakes which more sluggish spirits avoid. As we reflect on the tragedy of Lamennais, set forth in Dr. Vidler's book with so much insight and restraint, we may recall some words of another impulsive seeker after social righteousness half a century later. "It is difficult to be angry and sin not", said Stewart Headlam; "it is much easier not to be angry at all."

MAURICE B. RECKITT.

INFALLIBILITY

THE CHURCH AND INFALLIBILITY: A Reply to the Abridged *Salmon.* By B. C. BUTLER. Sheed and Ward. 12s. 6d.

ABBOT Butler's book is peculiarly difficult to assess. It is neither an official defence of Roman Catholic claims nor even a full-scale reply to Salmon's monumental work, and the issues which it raises would carry us continually into fields which neither author treats fully. A limited review can only select a few of the many points which it raises.

The real issue lies in the nature of the Church and the effects of human sin upon the structure and working of the Body of Christ. Here our axioms are widely different. Yet to infer that, if the Church is not infallible, she cannot claim our allegiance, or to pass at a bound from the possibility of distinguishing orthodoxy from heresy to formal infallibility is a bold over-simplification of the issue. There is a wide difference between maintaining that the whole Church under the guidance of the Holy Spirit expressing herself through conciliar action and the natural rhythm of Christian thought reached right conclusions on her subject matter, and the proposition that the Pope speaking *ex cathedra* on matters of faith and morals is the Divinely appointed organ of a presumed infallibility. A similiar closely related issue is the nature of tradition. The Abbot makes the choice to lie between a full Roman Catholicism and that rare phenomenon, a pure Protestantism. He urges that to accept in principle the development of doctrine and yet to stop short of the complete Roman Catholic position is a case of "arrested development". But an Anglican suspects the counter possibility of "middle-aged spread" and finds in the definitions of the last century clear evidence for accretion rather than for genuine organic development. The *obiter dictum* of Cardinal Manning (not quoted in the book) that "the Dogma must conquer History" appears peculiarly shocking to those who do try to treat history seriously, and the Abbot's insistence that Scripture and tradition provide supporting arguments for dogma rather than grounds of faith comes amiss to those who find them regulative for faith and constitutive of truth. Since on Roman Catholic premisses the dogma of papal infallibility is not just one dogma among many but the very ground of all others, its late definition provides a further serious difficulty.

We should all be grateful to be reminded of the extremely narrow limits of definition which emerged from the Vatican Council; indeed, in view of what the Abbot himself calls the limiting cases, this was clearly necessary. But obvious difficulties still remain. Roman Catholic theologians are by no means agreed as to what are to be accepted as *ex cathedra* decisions, and not even the presence or absence of the crucial word " define " is apparently quite decisive. There would also appear to be an overspill from formal infallibility into other spheres. What of decisions which are declared to be " irreformable " though not technically infallible? What of the decisions of the Biblical Commission which I have heard described by a devout Roman Catholic as *la gendarmerie spirituelle*? And what of the doctrine that the fires of Hell are physical which Cardinal Gasparri's Catechism describes as " theologically certain " though not defined, and denial of which must lead, according to a reply of the Sacred Office, to the refusal of Absolution? And the difficulties raised not only by Keenan's *Controversial Catechism*, but even more by the Declaration of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland as late as 1826, still remain, despite the Abbot's ingenious explanation that a doctrine does not become an article of faith until it is actually defined. How on any natural use of words can the statements of Popes Paul V and Gregory X that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception had not yet been revealed, and its rejection by St. Thomas Aquinas, be reconciled with the statement of Pope Pius IX that it was part of the original and revealed deposit of the Christian faith and the constant and universal belief of the Church? In view of such difficulties an Anglican may perhaps be pardoned for wondering whether the dogma is such a vital guarantee of revealed truth as Roman Catholics think.

There are few surprises in his treatment of the New Testament evidence. He insists that Matthew xvi must be regarded as the overriding text in the light of which all other evidence from the New Testament must be read, and accuses Salmon of applying the principle *Divide et Impera*. This will hardly satisfy those who must still insist upon treating each text on its merits. Two at least (Luke xxii and John xxi) relate rather to the restoration of St. Peter to the Apostolic Commission than to the grant of special powers. In the New Testament others besides the apostle strengthened their brethren. The word is certainly not a Petrine peculiar. The author does not appear to take sufficient account of the variety of New Testament images in his exegesis of Matthew xvi. The power of the keys remains with our Lord in the Apocalypse, the power of binding and loosing is a prerogative of the whole Church in Matthew xviii. Christ himself is the Rock in I Corinthians and the apostles and prophets in general the foundation in Ephesians ii. Attempts to dovetail the evidence together under the auspices of Matthew xvi are more ingenious than convincing. The Abbot does his best to dispose of the Patristic variations in the exegesis of the *Tu es Petrus*. They remain, to say the least, surprising if they regarded the passage as vital for the nature and constitution of the Church.

On the place of the Roman see in antiquity Butler agrees with Salmon that it is a matter of tracing a development. The one finds a natural development of inherent powers, the other a gradual accretion in which successful action was treated as precedent and precedent broadened into jurisdiction. In this process a non-Roman Catholic can detect contributory factors: the strategic position of the see of Rome, the undoubted ability of many of its bishops, its position as a third doctrinal force, a counterpoise in the disputes of the East. Council and Emperor each had their part to play. None of these require the explanation of a *de jure divino* origin. Salmon can be rescued from the implied charge of self-contradiction in his recognition of the changing position of the Roman see. At first owing some of its prominence to its position at the heart of the secular empire, it derived some of its subsequent growth to the very weakness of the secular power in the West. A growing institution can adapt itself to changing historical circumstances without ceasing to be indebted to history for its development.

Considerations of space make it impossible to discuss the author's treatment of the first five centuries as fully as it deserves, but his interpretation of the Council of Chalcedon cannot pass without serious challenge. He quotes with approval the comment of Soloviev that " the Council of Chalcedon remained in history as a great triumph of the Papacy ". Yet the influence of Rome, though far from negligible, was not as decisive as he makes it appear. Granted that the crucial phrase (" in two Natures " was the doctrine of St. Leo), it represented a long-standing Eastern tradition temporarily under a cloud. The slogan of the Imperial chorus " Peter has spoken through Leo " must be compared with their acclamation of the Emperor as " the new David ". The language of flattery does not all point in the same direction. The doctrinal hesitations of the Illyrian bishops on the orthodoxy of the Tome, though in fact unjustifiable, speaks of a certain independence of outlook. Abbot Butler inquires why, if the dogma of infallibility were false, it was not condemned by the Council. Here actions speak as loud as words. St. Leo wanted the dispute settled by the simple acceptance of his Tome. The Council placed on the same level with the Tome the two Dogmatic letters of St. Cyril. He regarded a new definition of faith as unnecessary, but the Council proceeded to draw up its own formula, and added the famous 28th Canon despite considerable protests from the Papal legates. As the Abbot himself notes, the subsequent apology of Anatolius did not go nearly all the way.

Generous tribute is paid to Anglican scholarship, particularly to the monumental learning of C. H. Turner, the Bampton Lectures of the present Bishop of Derby and Dr. Jalland and to the late Warden of Keble, Dr. B. J. Kidd, under whom he served himself. His quotation of Anglican writers (always acknowledged as such) is fair comment provided that it be remembered that a similar appeal could be made by Anglicans to Roman Catholic writers, especially to the candid

Duchesne. Yet he is often careless over the matter of initials. Fr. Symonds of Mirfield is H. E., not N. E., Dr. Prestige G. L., not A. L., while my colleague at Durham, Canon S. L. Greenslade, to whose work on Schism the Abbot recently devoted an article in the *Downside Review,* would not recognize himself as R. H.

No one would wish to deny the great value of the witness of the Roman Church in the early centuries or in her later role as the *de facto* leader of the Christian West, but that her growing authority depended upon a grant of powers to St. Peter *de iure divino,* or that her contribution to orthodoxy can only be explained on the assumption of a God-given, though carefully limited, infallibility, despite Abbot Butler's undoubted gifts of persuasion, we still do not find in the records.

H. E. W. TURNER.

E. K. TALBOT

RETREAT ADDRESSES OF EDWARD KEBLE TALBOT. Edited with an introduction by LUCY MENZIES. S.P.C.K. 15s.

"Two streams run through all life: the grace of God poured out upon all our common life and all that common life offered back to God." These words (so far as an imperfect memory can recall them) spoken by Father Talbot's father some 50 years ago are again and again recalled in the words of his son. His intense vitality was interested in everything around him from the frolics of a small dog to the inspiration of great music, making his response to God, as in his loved quotation, "*Un oui vivant*" indeed. Doubtless it was this in part that endeared "Father Ted" to his younger hearers. Yet that vitality could overflow to age as well. Few could speak with more understanding sympathy of that time of "the banging of doors" of influence and work as the years close them one by one in growing age. Through all, joy was to him an essential mark of a Christian life in which the Te Deum was never to be forgotten. He suggests that it was with our Lord even on the very Cross (as indeed Greek grammar surely demands in Hebrews xii, 2.).

But to Father Talbot there are no emotional short-cuts to that joy. We must climb to it step by step by closing with the "plain homely things which await us day by day" though "in the real romance of following Christ". If we dream that he is too gentle we are speedily brought face to face with his firm call to steadfast habits and obedience that remind us of the hard-bitten soldier who discerned behind the gentleness of Bishop King the spirit of the "proper colour sergeant." He *may* have been wrong in quoting Baron von Hugel's criticism of some forms of self-examination as "flea catching" with approval for the opposite of dissembling our sins may be to assemble them that we may see how verminous our outwardly respectable lives can become. But if so, it is through his eagerness to save his hearers from a false repentance that is merely godless remorse, or that leads to that histrionic severity or that mere self-depreciation which as he so cogently shows will merely feed our egotism with " pride standing on its head ". In a word he is supremely and wisely anxious that penitence shall be begun, continued and ended in the light of the faithful mercy and truth of God.

The care and sympathy with which he leads his hearers through the darker paths of Christian life are above all due to that humility that Miss Menzies recalls as an especial note of his character. That humility has the quality that we remember in Bishop Paget's essay on Accidie which at last we learnt was written as it were with his life-blood in a life-long struggle. Here in Father Talbot's words upon humility we have no mere " theological truths in seemly language "—to quote Lord David Cecil's criticism of clerical hymn-writers—but the words of one who was in the thick of the battle beside his comrades as a humble soldier in the ranks.

Behind all lies the full Catholic Faith and Practice *as taught in the Ecclesia Anglicana*: with her disciplined reason and emotion: with her wide outlook that can look not only through the window of the Middle Ages or the window of the Reformation but through all the windows of the Palace of God on earth: with that hallowing of the peculiar genius of her people by her persistent call to write *Agere communia non communiter* over the whole length and breadth of life. He admits that she is untidy (what part of the Body of Christ on earth is not!) but not—as is so unfortunately the case with many of her children to-day—with the petulance of a Victorian spinster over an undusted corner. To the criticism that " There is no discipline in the Church of England " he gives the curt answer " The Church of England *is* the discipline ".

Many a wayfarer to the City of God will be grateful to Miss Menzies for this careful collection. Indeed it is doubtful that any sketch of his life, however gladly we look forward to its perusal, will reveal the man as these his *ipsissima verba* with their robust sanity and fresh vigour. Not least will it be valuable to preachers and retreat conductors with its great lesson that he only who is in the ranks himself can stretch out a sure and strong hand to his war-weary comrades.

E. F. FAGAN.

A TRACT FOR THE TIMES

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE IN THE FULLNESS OF THE CHURCH. Edited by K. M. Carey. Dacre Press. 8s. 6d.

THIS is an able book, a persuasive book, a timely book. Taking as its starting point the conception of the historic episcopate as the *plene esse* of the Church, it seeks to find a way out of the impasse of the the dilemma between *esse* and *bene esse*, which has become so monotonous and threadbare a theme of recent discussion. It is also in some sense a " Tract for the ecclesiastical Times ", written with a special eye to the vital decisions in regard to South India which the Church must take in 1955, though its horizons are not limited and its importance by no means exhausted by its contemporary setting.

Dr. J. A. T. Robinson sets the book off to a good start. If the Ministry is a function of the Church, the Church itself is a function of the Kingdom. " We have been poring over too small an area of the map and need to consult our coordinates again ". Eschatology is a field which Dr. Robinson is beginning to make especially his own, and we look forward to a fuller development of some of the implications of his work at a later date.

Mr. Vanstone has the unenviable task of interrogating the New Testament again on a subject which might appear to have been exhausted by the researches of previous scholars. He is perhaps unduly sceptical on the subject of the apostolic authority which many have felt to underlie the period of experimentation as a whole. He seems to leave St. Paul's indignant rejoinder to attacks on his status as an apostle rather in the air. But the main point that the New Testament provides rather a context of reference is well and shrewdly made.

Mr. Woollcombe's essay is one of the best in the book. The Patristic evidence is well set out and carefully discussed, and there are wise remarks on the true meaning of the principle of Economy and on the limitations both ancient and modern of the classical Augustinian position. That in much modern discussion the concepts of validity and efficacy have somehow changed places is often forgotten. The most original part of the essay is the attempt to treat the Fathers as a kind of Archbishops' Committee, and to elicit from them replies on the immediate questions at issue. Their answers are in some cases somewhat unexpected, but they emerge clearly from the discussion of the evidence.

Mr. Till develops the theme of the book from the classical Anglican divines. His essay is full, informative and, so far as I have been able to test it, reliable.

The story is continued in the nineteenth century by Mr. Webster. He collects much valuable material, but the attempt to start with the Reviser's Communion and to work both forwards and back is rather confusing.

On the other hand Mr. Montefiore, who treats the subject from the dogmatic rather than the historical point of view, seems to me to have made a really valuable contribution to the subject, unusual in so young a scholar. His use of the classical Anglican appeal to Scripture, Tradition and Reason is particularly skilful. An important footnote gets to grips with the appeal from the Church Militant to the Church Triumphant which is beginning to be made in certain quarters. If it is as well to remember, as the Head of a Cambridge College is reported to have said, that " the great majority of the College is not at present in residence "; no one would be justified in waving a bundle of proxies at the next college meeting devoted to a particularly controversial issue.

The concluding chapter, by the Principal himself, analyses the various objections to closer relations with the Church in South India in the light of the thesis of the book as a whole.

The book deserves a wide circulation, especially among those who would not at first sight be prepared to accept its conclusions. As one who emphatically does, I may perhaps be allowed to express the hope that it will have the influence which it deserves on a decision which may well prove the most momentous that the Church may have to take in our time in the field of Church relations.

H. E. W. TURNER.

ORIGEN

ORIGEN'S DOCTRINE OF TRADITION. By R. P. C. HANSON. S.P.C.K. 25s.

DR. Hanson is to be warmly congratulated upon this study of Origen's doctrine of tradition, apparently only the preliminary to a much larger and more comprehensive work on his Biblical theology. It is based upon a full study of the surviving works of the Alexandrine Father which enables Dr. Hanson with careful accuracy to correct the more sweeping statements of previous scholars in the field, and upon an impressive list of modern authorities, where, however, I miss any mention of D. van den Eynde, *Les normes de l'enseignement chrétien,* which has valuable sections on the idea of tradition, especially of secret tradition in Clement and Origen.

The author devotes an important introduction to the date and order of the works of Origen, and analyses the Latin translations upon which alone an unhappily large proportion of his works depend. In many cases these must be regarded as editions rather than translations. The conclusion itself is not new, but the assessment of the extent of alteration is carried a good deal further than is usually the case. The chapter on "Revelation Outside the Bible" clearly indicates the two-sided approach of Origen to the conclusions of Greek philosophy. In a fuller work the picture would need to be supplemented (and perhaps corrected) by the recognition that Origen, if reserved on the question of the results of Greek philosophy, found no difficulty in using Greek philosophy as a framework of reference for the interpretation of Christian theology.

Dr. Hanson is wholly justified in emphasizing the primacy in the thought of Origen of Scripture over tradition, and in his wise reserve on the relation between the Rule of Faith and the Baptismal Creed. Yet the ascription by Origen of his own peculiar interests in dogmatic theology to the secret tradition appears by no means so clear as Dr. Hanson is inclined to think. The gap between Clement and Origen on the point is more pronounced than the author allows. The theory of a pagan Origen who wrote purely philosophical works, such as "That the King alone is Creator", is again too firmly rejected by the author, though he is successful in showing that the chronological difficulties usually found in ascribing such works to Origen and in his contact with contemporary Greek philosophers are not as formidable as has sometimes been thought.

There are a few minor blemishes. The reference to an article by Bardy given on page 1 appears incomplete. The Table of Dates on pages 25-7 is awkwardly inserted in the text of his chapter. On page 146 should not Jacob read Joseph? But these are points of detail, and the whole work must be reckoned a first-rate piece of scholarship fully in line with the revival of Patristic scholarship which has been so welcome a feature in Anglican circles of recent years.

H. E. W. TURNER.

THE BOOK OF JOB

JOB AND HIS FRIENDS. By T. H. ROBINSON. S.C.M. Press. 7s. 6d.

THIS book of 125 pages is the outcome of four lectures delivered some years ago, expanded and modified, with translations of passages from the original. These mostly follow the A.V., but from Chapter V has occasional variations by the author. Dr. Robinson's Job follows closely on the publication of the Hanson's volume in the Torch Bible Commentaries (reviewed last year in this journal), and like it has no index or bibliography.

The book of Job contains many difficulties: What was the disease which Job suffered from? Probably leprosy—it matters little; it is true it is called "boils" in ii, 7, as in Lev. xiii; these may have been an inaccurate diagnosis and simply a skin disease, though in vii, 4f, and xiv, 15, it is much the same as the disease which the author of Ps. lxxxviii was experiencing. Then, though he does not go nearly so far as Professor Stevenson in his Schweich lecture, and discard most of the book as spurious, Dr. Robinson considers there are dislocations, interpolations and omissions in the original text. There is also the meaning of "curse God" and die, which A.V. usually translates "Bless" and R.V. here "renounce"; the author thinks, and so apparently does the Revised Standard Version, that "curse" is meant—perhaps like the nursery euphemism "bless you", when the mother means the reverse, but the American Jewish Translation has "blaspheme"; in iii, 8, the "curse" is a different word and quite a proper one. The word Barak was often used by Jews when welcoming or bidding goodbye to friends, so why not freely "bid him goodbye and begone"? Then, there are the questions of the writing, authorship, and whether Job was a real historical personage, or if the whole story is a parable. Elihu's appearance on the scenes is another difficulty, which on the whole seems to be an interpolation. All these difficulties are ably handled by Dr. Robinson.

The Satan (a title, not a proper name) means "adversary", a sort of Public Prosecutor, is the cause of all the trouble. He had found

Job "whole hearted and upright, one that feared God and shunned evil", but maintained that he was "hedged in", and only had to be tried by adversity to blaspheme God. This having failed, the Satan was allowed to strike "the bone of his flesh", and inflict upon him a terrible and painful disease. But Job remained steadfast and the Satan lost his case.

Other interesting topics which may be mentioned are the Divine Names—Yahweh, Eloah and Elohim, and Shaddai (p.29); the Doctrine or Exact Retribution (pp. 51, 79); and Bad Logic (pp. 50, 64); among the meaning of words which the author defines may be mentioned "foolishness", "righteousness", "justice", "Redeemer" and "sheol":

The Friends (the Mystic, the Scholar, and the Dogmatic Theologian) are described in chapter IV, p. 51, and chapter V, p. 81, is devoted solely to Job's speeches.

The Book of Job is one of the great literary products of the world, its beauty of language and dignity of expression, its intense sincerity, and its rhythm of thought and sound all make a translation, however good, fall into insignificance compared with the original. A large anthology could be made of things said in praise of the book of Job. C. J. Ball, for example, who published a commentary and his own translation of it, said that it was the highest achievement of the Hebrew muse, and our own laureate, Tennyson, went even further and said that it was "the greatest poem in the world".

Dr. Robinson sums up his views by saying that the book falls into no recognized class of literature. It is a poem and it is a dialogue; it is hardly a drama. It might be a philosophical dialogue. "The book is *sui generis;* all one can say of it is that it is the Book of Job."

A. D. POWER.

BUDDHISM

ASPECTS OF BUDDHISM. By HENRI DE LUBAC, S.J. Translated by GEORGE LAMB. Sheed and Ward. 12s. 6d.

THIS book consists of three comparative studies between Buddhism and Christianity by a Roman Catholic authority on the religions of the East, particularly Buddhism. The foreword is useful for its brief recapitulation of the life of the Buddha, as well as his teaching and its development. There are also two useful appendices: a list of English translations of some of the more important books, and a glossary of Buddhist names and terms.

The first essay, on Buddhist charity, shows that the obligation of *ahimsa* (harmlessness) is not so negative a duty as some western scholars have made out. While Burnouf and others have belittled Buddhist charity, Lehmann and others have seen in it a virtue as great as the *caritas* of Christianity. There are, too, the further virtues of *maitri* (loving-kindness), *dana* (giving) and *karuna* (compassion). Fr. de Lubac illustrates amply from canonical and extra-canonical works instances of Buddhist altruism; and he points out how in the Mahayana school, the larger of the two great divisions of the religion, the doctrine of Amida (the Compassionate Buddha) and of the *bodhisattvas* (Buddhist saints who assist men on the way of salvation) gives abundant evidence for the prominence of *karuna* in the Buddhist ethic.

Nevertheless the author, on the whole, sides with the Burnouf view, but for profounder reasons. The Buddhist ethic cannot be separated from the Buddhist doctrine of reality and of man. "The essential thing, the thing that puts a gulf between Buddhist charity and Christian charity, is that in Christianity the neighbour is loved for himself. In Buddhism this is impossible." Because Buddhism is non-theistic and because it denies the reality of the human soul, "Buddhist charity, being provisional and not final, and remaining a means intrinsic to the end sought, vanishes inevitably when it is regarded from the point of view of absolute truth."

The second essay compares and contrasts the "two cosmic trees" of Buddhism and Christianity, the Bo-Tree of Gautama and the Cross of Christ. Fr. de Lubac discusses the significance of the pillar cult not only in India but also in the religions of antiquity at large; and he points out that some writers have endeavoured to interpret the Buddha's tree of enlightenment and Calvary in an idealistic mode, whereby both symbolize some common cosmic truth. But, in fact, the two are very different. The Bo-Tree simply marks a place of a human being's enlightenment: the Cross marks the sacrifice of an historical figure engaged in "cosmic combat". An interesting note is appended to this chapter, comparing the use of the Buddhist Pillar-Tree and the Christian Cross in the art of the two religions: which suggests that this kind of study, based upon visual rather than verbal symbolism, would be a fruitful one for further investigation.

The final chapter contrasts the manifestations of the Buddha with those of Christ. Particular reference is made to the important Mahayanist doctrine of *trikaya* (three bodies). According to this, the Buddha is known on three planes: that of history, that of imagination, and that of reason. Consistent with its agnosticism regarding a Supreme Being and its denial of the reality of man and the world, Buddhism regards the historical Buddha as of less abiding significance than the mythological Buddha, and the highest truth as expressed in the Buddha idea. In other words, the goal of Buddhism is the mystic void; and its means of attaining this end is self-knowledge and self-effort. For Christianity the historical Christ is a more real and significant figure than any philosophical idea. The author concludes: "The principle of our (Christian) salvation is not to be found in one privileged moment of enlightenment, Bodhi; the redemption of the world will come as the result of the Act which is consummated upon the Cross."

These essays are obviously works of Christian apologetic; but no one should be bewitched by the widespread religious monism which would have us gloss over the fundamental differences between the great world religions. These essays, which abound in illustrative quotation—if anything, almost too much so—are workmanlike reminders by an erudite scholar that Christianity and Buddhism do not even profess to lead men to the same thing in the end.

D. W. Gundry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A notice in this selection of recent works does not exclude a subsequent review.

The Development of the Papacy. By H. Burn-Murdoch. Faber. 42s.

This learned work is an attempt at impartial study of the doctrine of he Papacy. It sets out in dialectical form the different standpoints which have been taken about the meaning of Papal history and the claim that Petrine privileges asserted to belong to the Pope are part of the Christian revelation. The importance of this discussion needs no emphasis. "As between two men or groups of men, both of whom hold firmly to the Catholic creeds, at what exact point begins the cleavage of belief regarding the doctrine of the Papacy?" The general eader will find this a well-informed survey of the whole subject.

The World and the Faith. By Maurice B. Reckitt. Faith Press. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Reckitt's experience and matured knowledge of Christian social problems makes this collection of essays and addresses of value both o the student and to the general reader, who not seldom betrays actual gnorance of the extent to which in recent times the impact of Christianty on contemporary culture has been the subject of able investigation.

The Text and Canon of the New Testament. By Alexander Souter. Revised by C. S. C. Williams. Gerald Duckworth. 8s. 6d.

A second edition, brought up-to-date by an able pen, of a work which has long been regarded almost as a classic, it needs no recommendation rom us as an introduction to New Testament studies.

An Introduction to the Inner Life. By Lumsden Barkway. Mowbrays. 6s.

This work of eighty-five pages is designed to be a practical manual uitable for beginners in the study of mystical thought. It will be ound invaluable by many.

Walter Howard Frere: his correspondence on liturgical revision and construction. Ed. R. C. D. Jasper, M.A., B.D. S.P.C.K. 35s. (for the Alcuin Club.)

To most readers Dr. Frere's eminence as a liturgiologist is well known. He was constantly consulted both in England and in Anglican circles overseas. His letters were carefully arrayed and preserved. He wrote well on learned issues and the practical application of his scholarship was a constant occupation.

Authority and Freedom. Some Psychological Problems of Religious Belief. By Robert H. Thouless. Hodder & Stoughton. 8s. 6d (The Hulsean Lectures for 1952).

In this journal—as formerly in *The Guardian*—stress has been laid upon the present need of a demonstration that the religious interpretation of the universe is true. Neglect of this primary task of apologetic by many Church representative writers is alienating those very men and women whom we most require. As Dr. Thouless says truly " it is often an unexamined axiom of the modern thinker that any religious system is a mere fairy-tale." We are letting the case go by default.

Dr. Thouless, a psychologist and a layman, is doing a service to the Church by his attack upon three issues of urgent importance.

1. Is there a decline in religious conviction?
2. Is it possible for a reasonable modern man to accept a religious system of thought?
3. Are there respects in which religious ideas are presented to the modern man which unnecessarily increase his difficulty of acceptance?

This pertinent and inexpensive book—so profound and so readable—should be in the hands of everyone who wishes to propagate the Gospel. No better gift could be offered to a clergyman.

The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God. A Study in the Theology of John Calvin. By T. H. L. Parker. Oliver and Boyd. 10s. 6d.

This book is a contribution to the current discussion of natural theology. An important treatise on an urgent topic. The writer shows that Calvin " is not wishing to remain buried in the sixteenth century, but comes forward to carry on a theological discussion in his incisive manner with us today." *A review will follow.*

Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament. By Ronald S. Wallace Oliver and Boyd. 18s.

Here is a comprehensive study of Calvin designed to bring out the real teaching of this great thinker and to meet the needs of those who wish to acquire a better understanding of what he taught. A review, we hope, will appear later.

The Heart of the World. By Dom Aelred Watkin. Burns Oates. 7s. 6d.

The heart of the world is the heart of Christ, devotion to which reaches down to the roots of the Christian revelation. Benedictine spirtuality at its best.

The Temple of God's Wounds. By Will Quinlan. S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d.

The story of a spiritual pilgrimage.

George Herbert. By Margaret Bottrall. John Murray. 15s.

Mrs. Bottrall shows how this gifted man and perfect parish priest was inspired in his poetry by the paradoxical nature of Christianity itself.

Bow in the Clouds. By E. I. Watkin. Sheed and Ward. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Watkin's contribution to Christian thought is known to well-informed theologians. He is, perhaps, without peer among English writers in his association of mystical theology with a comprehensive philosophical interpretation of the whole of human experience, supported by lifelong study of English and foreign religious literature. In this volume—to which a brief note cannot possibly do justice—the general reader is introduced to themes of profound philosophical importance which he can never wisely neglect.

A Doctor's Casebook in the Light of the Bible. By Paul Tournier. S.C.M. Press. 16s.

This is the book of a doctor who sees every human problem in the light of the Biblical revelation. He recognises the interdependence of physical and spiritual health, and of the need in diagnosis to understand the spiritual problem.

Preaching in a Scientific Age. By A. C. Craig. S.C.M. Press. 7s. 6d.

Dr. Craig brings to the practical task of preaching wide reading and the insight of an accomplished theologian. " To the end of time ", he writes " preaching can be only an embarrassed stammering ". Dr. Craig's approach is similar to that of Barth who emphasizes the " fundamental alarm " which should affect a mere human who presumes to utter the Word of God. The author shows a realistic appreciation of the task of preaching today when the foundations of Christian doctrine are no longer to be assumed as part of the mental structure of the listener.

Revelation and Religion. By H. H. Farmer. Nisbet. 17s. 6d.

Professor Farmer in this, the first volume of his Gifford Lectures, has worked out an interpretation of world religion from the standpoint of Christian theology. Inevitably there follows an able philosophical consideration of what he terms the problem of classification — of the relationship between the Christian faith and religion in general.

Dilemmas. By Gilbert Ryle. Cambridge U.P. 10s. 6d.

Professor Ryle deals lucidly with a number of familiar philosophical problems which concern us all, and without technical jargon, can be made interesting to us all.

Congregationalism : A Restatement. By Daniel Jenkins. Faber. 10s. 6d.

A work of the greatest interest both to members of the writer's own communion and, even more, to members of other communions. For it comes from the pen of an able adherent of the Ecumenical Movement.

Living Christianity. By Michael de la Bedoyere. Foreword by Most Rev. T. D. Roberts, S.J. Burns Oates. 15s.

A review later will do justice to this illuminating essay by the Editor of the *Catholic Herald.*

Schoolmaster's Harvest. By J. H. Simpson. Faber. 18s.

Mr. Simpson, who has brought to the task of education a sincere devotion to the Christian Faith, describes critically a number of schools and colleges which he has known well in the course of his most unusual career. This book is no ordinary memoir. It is a volume which will be a necessary addition to every library of works on education. Every page is marked by philosophical insight.

Thomas Bray. By H. P. Thompson. S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d.

A brief, but interesting account of the man of great constructive energy who founded the S.P.G., the S.P.C.K., inaugurated many libraries and became a tireless worker in many causes.

A History of the Ecumenical Movement. 1517-1948. Edited by Ruth Rouse and S. C. Neill. S.P.C.K. 32s. 6d.

A collection of essays by ecumenical workers which deal mainly—but not entirely—with developments in the present century.

New Testament Studies. By C. H. Dodd. Manchester U.P. 16s.

This book—of which a full-dress review is projected—contains eight essays. Perhaps the most interesting were those which deal with " Eternal Life," " The Communion of Saints " and " The Mind of Paul ".

Bishop Wilberforce's Visitation Returns for the Archdeaconry of Oxford in the year 1854. (Oxfordshire Record Society). Transcribed and Edited by E. P. Baker.

A remarkable document which bears witness not only to the thoroughness and wisdom with which Wilberforce did his work, but to the not inconsiderable pastoral success of the able and learned men who filled many of the Oxfordshire incumbencies. Piety was pronounced in an age when the little chapel at Leafield proved too small for its congregation of more than 300. In Witney, always a great home of Dissent, the parish church had a congregation of five or six hundred.

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Fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te.

EDITOR'S ANNOUNCEMENT

The Church Quarterly Review is a cooperative undertaking designed to promote sound learning and a deeper understanding of the Christian Revelation. Essays and reviews are invited for reading and consideration. Philosophy, Theology, and disquisitions relevant to the present intellectual and pastoral problems of the Church will be given priority. Literary and Historical studies, if of high quality and of current interest, will also be acceptable.

Articles exceeding 5,000 words in length cannot generally be published. But exceptions to this rule may be permitted if an article is of great interest.

As in the past, contributions will usually be accepted as given voluntarily unless a contract has been arranged. Every care will be taken with authors' manuscripts, but no responsibility can be accepted. Writers are strongly advised to retain a copy of every article submitted.

Copyright in papers, reviews and correspondence is reserved. But applications for power to reproduce may be addressed to the Editor.

As the amount of material submitted exceeds the capacity of the journal, writers will understand that a decision will often be delayed. In the circumstances of a journal which is published quarterly considerable delay may be unavoidable.

EDITORIAL

AIM AND SCOPE OF THE CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW

In the difficult circumstances which surround us today a journal which seeks to win the attention of an educated public must give expression to a clear policy. To offer its readers a miscellany is not an adequate purpose, however talented the contributors may be. The aim and scope of a journal calls for reconsideration now and again. If a publication has been edited continuously for eighty years, changes of outlook will have marked varying conditions and the different interests of those who have occupied the editorial chair. But the original conception of the founders can be recalled and should be maintained.

That conditions of the present age may be contrasted with those of the eighteen-seventies is clear enough. Society has changed: the world has changed: the Church has changed.

We are at the moment chiefly concerned with an intellectual revolution. In the early years of this journal the editor could be assured of two things. There was a considerable reading public, clerical and lay. And the writers for such a public, well-informed, and capable of handling in an elegant style religious topics of general interest were usually forthcoming. There were scholars who knew how to marshal facts and present a case. The public was not then indifferent to the art of writing, and scholars—who were not unconscious of their mission—were prepared to seek its approval.

Everyone knows that the climate of theological studies has altered. Taking a broad view of the work being done in all the great Christian communions we see a widening and deepening of interest. New schools of thought have appeared. And it is no fanciful conjecture that further changes lie just over the horizon. It cannot be doubted that those influences which have begun to make their impact on scientific theory since the discovery of Relativity at the beginning of this century will also affect the sphere of philosophical theology. What—for want of a better term—we will call a new "logic" is touching the foundations everywhere.

But if new studies are now widely established, there is a task of interpretation which belongs to the immemorial tradition of the Church Quarterly Review. Specialism is common today. There are many in every field of study who specialise, but, in the present time, specialists who attempt to interest the general reader are infrequently seen. If we appeal to someone who has devoted years to the expert study of some aspect of theological research we do not often find a readiness to interpret in common speech those facts and theories which must have occupied the researcher for many a long day. In the words of Horace, *Odi profanum vulgus et arceo* seems to be his motto. He is content if he has made a reputation with one or two painstaking books which will be actually read by a very small number. The interests of the common reader—a very intelligent reader nowadays—are ignored.

In spite of the immense number of religious books published annually—it runs into four figures—the common reader who is intelligent enough to appreciate able articles in the monthly reviews on questions of literature, economics, science and even philosophy, often knows nothing about the fund of learning and inquiry which lies hidden beneath the covers of treatises in the divinity section of any good library. Not very long ago a noted editor confessed to us that he knew nothing of Karl Barth or Jacques Maritain.

We are told that evangelism is making slow progress. In an age when the expansion of intellectual interests is striking, aided by the Radio and by the publication of innumerable books and digests, any hope of interesting thoughtful people in religion will depend upon an appeal to the mind. But seldom to-day is that appeal being made. Competent writing about such urgent issues as Christian apologetic, the interpretation of the Bible; about the rich variety of classic literature, devotional, apologetic, mystical, historical which has appeared through the ages is seldom found in secular reviews. It is not too common even in the Church papers.

The object of this journal is general enlightenment. The subjects chosen for discussion will usually belong to the sphere of the specialist. And, as the whole range of special studies is a wide one, it is not likely that every topic will be equally interesting to every reader. But the aim will be to present topics in a clear and readable manner, precise and scholarly, and yet free from dullness or pedantry. *La clarté est la politesse* is a valuable French maxim. We shall adhere to it.

And if clarity and force of style are essential when writing for a wide public—we find our readers in the principal libraries of the world—we must not neglect another obligation. The minute study of a particular subject often leads to a narrow perspective. It is in the cause of scholarship and religion that the output of individual studies should be assessed in the light of a more comprehensive field of thought. The work of the student must be weighed and tested in relation to a deeper vision of Christian truth.

NOTES

THE STYLE IS THE MAN

PROFESSOR Brand Blanshard of Yale University has written the work which we all need to study. *On Philosophical Style* is a plea for clarity. If we include Theology as a branch of Philosophy, every step in the argument is of interest to editors—and readers—of religious journals. Some philosophers have been very heavy going. Others are always interesting. To analyse the qualities of a good style requires some temerity. They may prove to be elusive. But there are in many writers, albeit able thinkers on topics of great interest, certain blemishes from which attention to the elements of rhetoric would have saved them. The author of this timely little monograph, *On Philosophical Style** has at least drawn attention to certain attributes of a good writer which bring us very near the heart of the matter.

The first thing to consider in a writer is feeling. Cold reasoning is infertile—arid and bleak. ‘ Readers ’, says Blanshard, ‘ want their writers to make them feel alive, and when they can sit with their authors and jeer and laugh and scold and rejoice and admire with them, they feel intensely alive ’.

Philosophical studies, together with theology and scholarship in a wide sense, have to adopt a certain austerity of treatment,—to be content with what Bacon calls the *lumen siccum*. But, says our author, that does not mean that their readers are doomed to roam a desert and munch cactus as the only article of diet.

Even a scholar and abstract thinker must learn an elegant adjustment of rhetoric to his theme, and since his subject is usually one which, if fairly presented, should warm the heart and inspire the soul, it is not excusable that the writer should debase his matter by dryness or obscurity. There have been theologians who could wield a magic pen. Church and Newman come to mind at once. Berkeley and William James stand high among philosophers. But, says Blanshard, very often ‘ writers on religion, morals or art leave one with the bleak impression ’ that they know nothing of the experiences which they discuss.

Pascal has the sensibility of an artist. His writing responds to the elevation of his theme. ‘ Le silence éternel de ces espaces infinis me affaire ’. Such imaginative sensibility has disappeared from our contemporary thinkers, although there are two or three living writers on philosophy whose books are deservedly best-sellers. But they are not Christians. F. H. Bradley is not read to-day by those who follow the fashion of the moment. But he could write, and his work was fundamentally religious. Metaphysics, for Bradley, was a way of experiencing Deity, and, he held, no one who did not feel this way had ever cared for metaphysics. In T. H. Green there is feeling, and Mansel's philosophy, little read in this age, is finely expressed.

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*Manchester University Press.

The short answer to an inquiry as to the nature of style is expressed by the concept of truth. A writer who is actuated by a passion for the truth and has put himself in a position to convey it to others will usually write well. If his theme is important he will not fail to lift up the mind of his reader.

MODERN APOLOGETIC

We review on another page the Hulsean Lectures for 1952 by Professor R. H. Thouless. Dr. Thouless in these lectures, entitled *Authority and Freedom*, has considered a number of topics which often occupy the minds of laymen today. Some of his comments are likely to lead to constructive discussion, as our reviewer suggests. Whether religious ideas are presented to modern man in a way which involves unnecessary difficulties is one topic of inquiry. In many cases such difficulties are caused by a mistaken practice of taking literally terms and concepts which are metaphorical. The language of metaphor is uncongenial to the modern inquirer who is usually governed by a deep-seated tendency to define and legislate. There was an element of agnosticism in the minds of the early creed-makers. When they formulated a creed they did not claim to be solving mysteries, but '*affirming the existence of irresolvable mysteries*'.

Dr. Thouless lays stress upon the widespread decline of religious belief and emphasizes the need for more discussion of the case against religion. That case is assumed by many with little discussion, and weak opposition. The really urgent task today is to demonstrate the possibility of the religious explanation of the universe. We fully agree. That possibility, and indeed necessity, is rejected widely, not only by deliberate statements from thinkers—as, for example, Mr. Fred Hoyle—who have given serious thought to the subject, but by the masses on all sides who talk and write as if religion had no place in reality. It is far more important to establish this truth for the benefit of the half-educated masses than to seek the approval of a few scholars by writing minute studies of secondary topics.

THE GUARDIAN

In another column appears an article by Mr. F. Grover whose knowledge of the Guardian during fifty years was unparalleled. Mr. Grover after his long and remarkable service to the paper retired in 1951, when this great organ of thought and opinion was allowed by the Church of England to cease publication—to the distress of many intelligent Christians in all countries and communions.

The Guardian was created in 1846, in those years of awakening when, likewise, many of the great Victorians began to write. The founders were all Oxford scholars of standing; but its debt to J. B. Mozley and R. W. Church was very great. It was intended to preserve the spiritual core of the Tractarian movement.

After years of struggle and sacrifice its sponsors began to see an exceptional reward for their labours. When Lathbury became editor in 1883 the Guardian stood in the forefront among those English journals by which public opinion was moulded. Church papers were numerous, but the Guardian stood supreme. The weekly leaders, usually written by one of the ablest pens of the time, were read with attention.

What was the chief source of this influence? Religious journals are too often written as if the ordinary Christian cannot rise above Sunday-school level and on the seeming assumption that the exposition of the Christian faith requires meagre intellectual qualifications. Too many religious editors write about God as if he was a clergyman—to use a phrase attributed to Archbishop William Temple.

The Guardian was quite different. It addressed itself to adult minds and was read by the intelligent. When the religious press was filled with ignorant abuse of Darwinism, repeated with parrot-like monotony, the Guardian, always more judicial, drew attention to its importance. And on the less theoretical side the Guardian was equally eminent. No journal, said Gladstone, was so reliable in its selection and arrangement of news. Anyone in future who attempts to write a history of Britain during the last quarter of the nineteenth century without reading the Guardian will neglect an indispensable source. No secular paper came near it during that period. Our readers should look up its commentary on the Dreyfus Affair or on the Boer War.

In the present century the paper suffered a long period of decline. Perhaps the main reason was the Sunday newspaper. But there were other circumstances. In an age of great developments in every field of theology and criticism the Guardian failed to respond. No editor ever took the place of Lathbury. And frequent changes in the editorial chair undermined the authority of the paper. In an age of fierce competition the prestige of the Guardian fell. By the early nineteen-twenties the circulation had dropped to twenty thousand. In the thirties it fell to only a quarter of that figure.

In January 1946 the Guardian brought out a fine number which included no less than forty tributes signed by some of the authoritative names of the day. Writers bore witness to a vigorous renewal in the Guardian. The warmest tributes came from the best qualified to speak, the editors of contemporary weeklies. The chief reason for this appreciation was the employment of a considerable team of Christian philosophers, masters of a profound method of apologetic thinking, and bearing names which were known throughout the Western world. Most of them were laymen. It would be difficult to measure the influence of writers like A. E. Taylor, J. K. Mozley, W. G. de Burgh, Edwyn Bevan, and W. S. Lilley in a time of national danger and ecclesiastical weakness. 'An Ethos at once Liberal and Catholic'—this phrase which appeared in an understanding appreciation from the Dean of Winchester (Dr. Selwyn) summed up the particular outlook of the editor in the centenary period.

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It is a matter of constant grief that such a revival, only brought about by the hard work and sacrificial efforts of both authors and staff, was not reinforced by equivalent effort on the financial side. None could be found among the wealthy adherents of the Anglican Communion who would furnish the funds necessary to meet a rather heavy loss. It was a failure which provoked, and still at times provokes very great concern.

Founders of the Guardian ' did not accept—rather they were anxious to discourage by all the means at their command—the notion that the interests of Churchmen, whether clerical or lay, should be limited to matters directly affecting the Church '. These weighty words appeared in the Jubilee number of January 22, 1896. They were quoted in the centenary number, fifty years later. When the Guardian suspended publication in 1951 numerous friends and subscribers in all parts of the English-speaking world wrote of their concern. Much was written in the Press, and no tribute evinced more knowledge and insight than a substantial article in the *Tablet*.

LIFELESS MACHINES

There has been much crude talk in the past about matter and the machine (comparable to the careless abuse of terms which marred some philosophical and theological discussion) and the time has come for clearer thinking.

Is living matter controlled by a non-material force? Serious suggestions have been put forward which imply that the material universe is nothing but a vast machine. It has been developed and maintained by the unaided action of matter upon matter. Its growth and continuance is, in fact, automatic. An example is taken from the performance of certain machines of an elaborate kind, and it is supposed that a sufficient number of mechanical devices—it would have to be a very large number—would reproduce the living organism. Our corporeal self is nothing better than a superlative piece of engineering.

The implications of such reasoning and the very different consequences of an accurate comparison between living and lifeless machines is the subject of a very lucid and convincing discussion in the August number of the British Journal for the Philosophy of Science. The author is Professor R. O. Kapp.

These issues are of interest to those who recite and ponder the Creeds. In what sense, if any, is the living organism a machine? One of the essentials of every type of machine is the fact that it is actuated by controls—what is technically called the ' input function '. Given the necessary input function the man-made machine is almost automatic. Operate the controls and the machine's work, its ' output function ' follows.

But consider the living machine. The writer shows that it is in no sense automatic. If carefully considered all the evidence proves that there is a basic difference. What Professor Kapp terms the principles of continuous redesigning and continuous repair characterise living matter. There is nothing analogous to this in the man-made machine. The input function—whether we call it Mind, Soul, or Lifeforce—is quite different. 'It is continuous, permeating, and operating on a scale too small for any material manipulator'. This leads to the question where is the operator that is assumed to be in control of this continuous and permeating input function?

It is a question which a student of the Book of Genesis may be prompted to put. But Professor Kapp insists that such a question is meaningless. For, he points out, the idea of location does not accord with the other necessary attributes of the input function, mind or soul.

LIVINGSTONE

Africa today is experiencing unheard-of changes. When Livingstone began to explore the interior of this vast continent about a century ago he was entering great countries which to the western world were unknown. His diaries form an important record of the habits and history of the peoples at the time. The Rev. J. I. Macnair in his new book, *Livingstone's Travels,*—a useful edition of Livingstone's own records in books and diaries—alludes to the circumstances which kept Africa isolated and, incidentally, owing to this very isolation, favoured a number of unusual sociological conditions, including all the abuses of the slave-trade. One main factor was the want of draught animals and ignorance of the wheel. The writer also points out the consequences of the geological and climatic conditions, and the fact that an immense tract of country in central Africa lies at an altitude where Europeans can settle more easily than in other parts of the tropics. Livingstone has referred to this. 'When on lands of a couple of thousand feet elevation, brisk exercise imparts elasticity to the muscles, fresh and healthy blood circulates through the brain, the mind works well, the eye is clear, the steps firm . . . ' (Livingstone's Last Journals, vol. I, p. 13.)

Two elements which contributed to Livingstone's success as an explorer have not received enough attention. First we must emphasize the reasonable, hospitable, and pacific tendencies of the African character. This has always been an important condition in the opening-up of Africa. The writer of this note had opportunities of observing the habits of peoples in primordial Africa some forty years ago. Travel in uncharted areas with meagre resources was less difficult than is generally supposed. From time immemorial Africa has been covered with a net-work of bush paths, and, normally, the stranger is received with hospitality, provided he observes the customs of the country. Secondly, in many districts the tribal organisation of the people was an aid to exploration, because the word of a paramount chief would be enough to guarantee safe conduct and transport.

These two factors would normally assist Livingstone, as they have always aided in the pioneer days missionaries and explorers who entered the unknown parts of Africa.

We do not, however, minimise the difficulties which on occasion surrounded Livingstone's work. The native authorities were not always friendly. The peoples of central Africa were much distressed by the appalling effects of the slave-trade, where, according to Livingstone, a small piece of calico would be accepted in exchange for a human being. To go into an area where the prevalence of a monstrous form of crime had the support of chiefs, influential natives, and groups of intelligent and unscrupulous Arab merchants required courage. It must not be forgotten, too, that the slave-trade, a custom universally accepted in Africa as, also, in many other parts of the world, was actually condoned in their country. Many wealthy Englishmen, like Gladstone's father, were slave-owners, and, when Gladstone spoke against slavery in 1841 he was reminded that those who lived in a glass-house should beware of throwing stones. In his attack upon the slave-trade Livingstone became a world figure.

IN THE BEGINNING GOD

An Elucidation of Genesis

WHAT is the Christian Doctrine of Creation? " In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." A very fundamental issue latent in what has been called the majestic vision of Genesis calls for elucidation. How many have heard the first chapter of the Bible and pondered! And in science, how far are we influenced by the implications of the ancient myth?

In the next number of the *Church Quarterly Review* will appear an article entitled *Creation*. This will contain a Dialogue between Professors Donald Mackinnon and Antony Flew on a number of problems suggested by consideration of the popular account of creation and the creation of the theologians—a recognition of man's absolute dependence on God. These questions include a discussion of the traditional doctrine of analogy and the impulses behind theological language. Another question to which the speakers refer arises out of the interesting and very important arguments of Mr. Michael Foster and the late Professor Collingwood about the influence of creation ideas upon the history of science. (*Scientific Journals please copy*).

AN ALTAR PIECE

By JOHN SEARLE

[*Two Jews Meeting*]

1ST JEW. Good morning—on the way to the executions?

2ND JEW [*hurriedly*]. Oh no, no; but there's a little business matter of mine in that direction, and I should like to get it settled before the Sabbath.

1ST JEW [*doubtfully*]. Yes, yes, of course. A remarkable man this Jesus—did you ever see him?

2ND JEW. Yes, a few days ago when he came into the city, and the mob turned out and made such a disturbance. In spite of all the cheering and shouting he appeared very calm; in fact I thought there was a strange unnatural stillness on his face. He was as you say a remarkable man, but very unwise.

1ST JEW. Unwise, how so?

2ND JEW. Well, the trouble he caused in the Temple by his violent methods. He might have denounced the scandals without going to such extremes. If the authorities had allowed that sort of thing to spread, it might have given Herod a reason to interfere. As you know he's staying in the city.

1ST JEW. Very true, and we don't want another riot over the Temple revenue. By the way, did you hear about the Standard?

2ND JEW. The Standard, no, what is this?

1ST JEW. I heard it from my daughter who is employed in the Palace; one of the guards told her. When this man Jesus was led up to the tribunal, the Standard bent down before him, and the soldier holding it—a strong man too—could not keep it upright, and this happened twice.

2ND JEW. A pretty story! That's how legends begin.

1ST JEW. But there's something else, and this is no fairy-tale. Pilate's wife—Claudia, you know—did her best to help the man, there was quite a scene about it. She told Pilate he would come to a bad end if he ordered the execution. My daughter heard her say that she had been warned in a dream.

2ND JEW. Dreaming about the man! Poor woman.

[*They both laugh, then separate*].

[*A dense and agitated crowd surround the three Crosses—confused sounds and cries.*]

A VOICE. Let the wonder worker work a last wonder and save himself.

ANOTHER VOICE. The king of the Jews, the great king of the Jews. Hail king of the Jews.

[*The crowd take up the cry*]. Hail king of the Jews.

A JEW. Well, that's the end of it, they all come to the same end.

ANOTHER JEW. The end of it? I wonder.

[*The first speaker looks at him suspiciously then edges away.*]

LONGINUS [*the centurion in command, and standing apart, calls up one of his men.*]

Drive the mob back, and keep them well back; the man . . . the men have enough to bear without the torment of these howling curs.

[*The soldier goes and Longinus continues solus*]. The cursed cowardly dogs . . . fine work this for a Roman . . . and I can't throw off this weight of oppression . . . much more might stir me to revolt.

SOLDIER [*returning*]. His mother and a few close friends beg you to let them stay with him.

LONGINUS [*with nervous irritability*]. Let them stay.

[*The crowd is now pressed back. At the foot of the central Cross stand Mary, Mary Magdelene, Salome and John. Longinus also comes into the cleared space, but stands apart from the group. Soldiers sitting on the ground and near the crowd are gambling with dice. Joseph of Arimathaea approaches Longinus from the crowd.*]

JOSEPH OF A. Longinus, you will not refuse an old man's prayer?

LONGINUS. What prayer?

JOSEPH OF A. That I may be allowed to join and give what help I can to these poor Galileans.

LONGINUS. Who may you be, a relative, a friend?

JOSEPH OF A. No . . . no . . . but . . .

LONGINUS [*curtly*]. Then stand back, [*raising his voice*] stand back I say.

JOSEPH OF A. This is what cowardice brings. Old age and worldly wisdom overcame my impulse to risk all, leave all and follow him. But now my shame brings final courage. I'll pack my few remaining days with deeds, to prove how I adored this young deliverer.

[*He goes back and is lost in the crowd.*]

THE RICH YOUNG MAN [*running up breathlessly*]. O let me come to him, O let me come.

[*Longinus seizes him and throws him back.*]

R. Y. MAN. But I am a Roman citizen!

LONGINUS. And a Jew.

R. Y. MAN. Let me but stand near him, and I will give [*pauses*] your men . . . a hundred silver pence.

LONGINUS. O tactful Jew to tempt me with "your men."

R. Y. MAN. I'll give a thousand pence . . . more . . . more . . I'll give you all.

LONGINUS. By all the Gods, no. I'll let no money spoil the memory of this rare man. [*fiercely*] Get back, get back I say.

R. Y. MAN. He asked me to give all and I refused. Now when I would give all . . . too late, too late. Where shall I go? So many years before me, and all empty, empty. [*With bowed head he walks slowly back to the crowd.*]

LONGINUS. Truly I'm not the only one drawn to this man, this god-like . . . [*checking himself, and then scornfully*] Shall I turn Jewish zealot?

[*It grows darker and he moves a little nearer the central group.*]

SALOME [*pointing at the soldiers*]. They have taken away the coat, the seamless coat we made for him.

[*The others disregard this. Mary sways but supports herself by holding on the Cross.*]

SALOME. Take her away, her suffering is too great, and she may even die before her son.

MARY MAGDELENE. No, no, she would not, must not leave him, and we must stay with her. And though his eyes are closed, he knows that we are near. We must, we must stay with him; he shall not be left alone like those two men—how I pity them.

SALOME. Those sinners!

MARY MAGDELENE. Sinners are lonely men, and more than others need the support of friends. But see! his eyes are open now looking on Mary. John quickly, help her to stand again.

[*John goes to Mary who now leans upon him. Christ speaking slowly and with difficulty.*]

My mother . . . John will now care for you . . . he will be your son. John . . . Mary . . . your mother.

[*John finds it impossible to speak, his only answer is a steady gaze.*]

FIRST ROBBER [*who has been watching the scene.*] Give me a word great Lord, what help a word from you.

SECOND ROBBER [*in a strangulated effort to shout*]. Fool . . . fool if he could help . . . he'd help himself . . . not you.

FIRST ROBBER. So near to Death . . . yet blind! If I were free I'd kneel to him.

CHRIST. Such faith compels God's power. Even today his love will circle us. Then you shall kneel to me.

[*It grows darker and Longinus moves still nearer the group*]

SALOME. See how he suffers now. And why did he refuse the wine? The robbers gladly drank. We should have made him, made him drink.

[*The others look at her and she keeps silent. A great stillness comes over the scene. The air seems heavy with apprehension. The crowd begin to disperse.*]

A JEW. There's a storm coming up, best to be getting home.

ANOTHER JEW. Yes, I'll come with you. Strange, how this man Jesus attracted and kept such faithful followers.

1ST JEW. Most of them women and workmen I believe.

2ND JEW. Amongst them I was told is a well-known doctor.

1ST JEW. Ah, that might account for some of the remarkable cures we've heard so much about.

2ND JEW. Do you know, I've seen many executions, but I'll not look at another. There was *something* disturbing about this one . . . *something* . . .

1ST JEW [*interrupting*] So you noticed it too? I gave me a queer sense of guilt . . . felt that *I* ought to be crucified. [*Attempts to laugh it off.*]

[*They disappear talking, and one by one the crowd melts away. It grows darker still.*]

A LOUD CRY FROM THE CROSS. My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

MARY MAGDELENE [*with great agitation to the others*]. No, no! It is not that, not that. But when he blessed that sinner, such force went out from him, that for a moment even *his* spirit failed.

Remember how his power was spent, when in the crowd the woman touched his cloak; and how his spirit suffered when Lazarus . . .

JOHN. Mary, tis more, much more than that; for even God his Father suffers now. He loves our master, and love in suffering shares. Are they not one? Did he not tell us so? And as our master in his agony leans upon God, he only finds an equal and his own great agony—so came that dreadful cry. But if God livēd apart and knew not pain, how could we say "Our Father".

MARY MAGDELENE. Never again shall we know happiness — love always leaves affliction.

JOHN. Love must bear more than happiness, for love is a stronger thing; and at the end brings an enduring joy.

VOICE FROM THE CROSS. At last . . . tis finished . . . now my Father I come.

[*All but Mary look up. In the gloom, the face of Christ is seen radiant, glowing with a strange inner light, and with a smile of perfect peace.*]

JOHN. What miracle! Once more that Glory on the Mount! Mary, look up, you'll never grieve again.

[*Mary looks up and starts with amaze as the divine light falls upon her.*]

MARY. Truly the angel spake, and I am blessed, blessed among women; and once again my soul must praise the Lord. To-day is a beginning not the end; and from to-day the light and love of God will slowly, ah! how slowly, flood the darkened tortured world. Light pierces darkness, Love conquers all. Beyond the powers of Babel's clamouring words, this Cross will speak—by every nation to the end of time adored. Come John.

[*John and Mary walk away.*]

MARY MAGDELENE [*looking after them*]. But I must live alone. [*Then, seeing Salome.*] Ah no—left to herself she'd fall away, stunned and bewildered. Salome, come with me.

[*Together they follow John and Mary. Longinus bows his head and slowly kneels.*]

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Bishop Blomfield and the Development of Tractarianism in London

By P. J. WELCH

At the beginning of the Tractarian Revival most contemporaries would have called Blomfield a High Churchman. It is quite true that he had issued a manual of family prayers and advocated the stricter observance of Sunday. But apart from these affinities with the Evangelicals, he had trodden the path of conventional Anglicanism. In an early sermon he had asserted that the Church " should, in external guise and semblance, visible majesty and propriety, be in some degree emblematical of that glorious spouse of Christ."[1] His sermon on Predestination, preached in 1819, was a powerful broadside against Calvinism. He never had the least sympathy with Latitudinarianism, and he referred to Hoadly in the most contemptuous terms.[2]

The Tractarians, then, might reasonably have hoped for his understanding and support, and in fact his personal sympathies were with them, in so far as they corrected much Evangelical doctrine. With Pusey he had cordial relations, and they had corresponded frequently about church extension in London. Pusey had submitted to Blomfield the proof-sheets of his *Historical Inquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalist Character* and had asked the bishop for his criticisms and corrections. Rose was Blomfield's chaplain, and Rose no doubt appealed to Blomfield because of his hatred of rationalism. The Tractarians set great store by the Prayer-book rubrics, and in this they were merely re-echoing Blomfield. In his *Primary Charge to the Clergy of Chester* he had emphasized the necessity of conforming to them, and he deplored over and over again the irregularity of using the service of public baptism in private houses. He told Bishop Wilson of Calcutta in 1839 that the Tractarians were placing " many points concerning the Church's authority and office in a striking point of view " and that they had done " much to counteract the evil effects of that Low Church spirit" which had "of late years weakened the Church and encouraged the Dissenters."[3]

But he was very far from endorsing many Tractarian doctrines. He deeply offended Newman by declaring that belief in the Apostolic Succession had gone out with the Nonjurors; and he rejected a candidate for Orders who held that there was grace in ordination and sacrifice in the Eucharist.[4] A report said that at a dinner at which many young clergymen were present he had declared that no power on earth would induce him to ordain anyone countenancing the views expressed by Newman in the famous Tract XC.[5] If we dismiss this as mere gossip, he certainly wrote that he could not see how any Anglican could hold these views.[6] His language was so decisively unfavourable that Newman asserted that, if other bishops repeated it, men would doubt the Catholicity of the Church of England.

It is also undisputed that he wished Peel to appoint to the Mastership of Trinity College, Cambridge, someone who possessed " a sufficient staple of divinity to qualify him for the difficult task, which I foresee he will have, of combating or checking the Oxford Tractarians, who are beginning to make themselves felt at Cambridge."[7] He told Hook that the Tractarians had done " enough and more than enough to call attention to the principles of the Church." They had " shed a light upon some important questions, sometimes indeed flickering and sometimes lurid "; but if they proceeded they would " kindle a flame." As for Tract XC, he considered " its tendency to be most pernicious ", and he was grieved to think that men like Hook and Palmer should have declared their intention of standing or falling with the author of it, if his errors, which they themselves admitted, were openly condemned.[8]

In his sermon, " The Light of the World ", Blomfield has hard words for those who " magnify the office of a Christian minister, as though he were to be the lawgiver and ruler of the people rather than their guide and counsellor."[9] Such people should " remember that there is only one Mediator between God and man. Let them not substitute the Church for Christ, the body for the spirit, the throne for him that sitteth thereon, the shrine for the Deity who inhabits it."[10] The Church, although its origin was divine and its authority indefeasible, was " not in itself the light, but only the instrument ordained for its diffusion." It was a "witness and keeper of the Holy Writ", and it ought "not to enforce anything to be believed for the necessity of salvation."[11]

Blomfield's attitude changed, because Tractarianism was not content with theory but began to give practical expression to its ideas. The Oxford Movement, in its early stages, was not concerned with ceremonial. It took Newman years to learn that to be a High Churchman involved becoming a practising sacramentalist, and the conduct of the service at St. Mary's, while he was vicar, was reputed to be slovenly in the extreme.[12] Keble, as we should expect, was conservative in his attitude to ceremonial,[13] and so was Pusey, partly because elaborate ceremonial in the present state of the Church appeared to him a mockery and partly because the cast of his mind led him to concern himself with inward things.[14] The innovations of the younger clergy filled him with apprehension and regret, and he certainly discouraged the restoration of the richer vestments sanctioned by the First Prayer-book of Edward VI.[15] But Isaac Williams began daily services at St. Mary's;[16] the Tractarians did increase the frequency of celebrations of Holy Communion;[17] and they seem to have approved of the eastward position. Newman used altar lights and the mixed chalice, and the *Origines Liturgicae* gave considerable impetus to the revival of ceremonialism.[18]

This was a direct and natural result of the Oxford Movement, however unforeseen. For ceremonial is the expression of doctrine, and the points at issue were really doctrinal. If the sacrifice of the Mass was a permissible view of the Holy Sacrament of the Church of England, then the ceremonial symbolizing it was permissible. Sensuous presentation rather than oral instruction was required to bring vital ideas home to the masses. The more important the dogmatic interpretation of the Eucharist became, the stronger grew the desire to give splendour and meaning to the observance of it. That is why Keble and Pusey, though they themselves added nothing to the ceremonial of their young days, laid much emphasis on forms and observances, especially after 1839, the year in which we may say that the Movement spread to London. It was then that the Margaret Chapel, afterwards All Saints', Margaret Street, became a Tractarian centre under Frederick Oakley. Oakley copied many of the practices of Bloxam, Newman's curate, at Littlemore. Both Bloxam and Oakley delighted in vestments,[19] hitherto used very rarely; and Oakley openly proclaimed that those who thought with him must teach through the eye.[20] Many of Oakley's innovations we should hardly think worth discussion; and it is certainly difficult to understand the heated exchanges to which they gave rise. To recite the offertory text while the collection is taken seems unlikely to arouse the spirit of the most polemical paladin. But the fact remains that there was this deep feeling, and men seem to have been especially disturbed because the additional ceremonies made it inconvenient, if not impossible, for a clergyman to take off the surplice he wore at the altar and preach in the black gown.

These developments presented Blomfield with a serious administrative problem. He would certainly wish to retain the allegiance of conservative Churchmen who resented any interference with the old ways. But it would be impolitic, even if it were possible, to prohibit any innovations in ceremonial. Apart from any other considerations, those who favoured them included the most conspicuously successful evangelists, assiduous in pastoral superintendence and active in promoting their bishop's schemes for church extension. William Scott, Vicar of Christ Church, Hoxton, and editor of the *Christian Remembrancer,* was one of them; whilst Oakley himself, according to Gladstone, had restored "the inward life and spirit of Divine Worship" among his congregation.[21]

Blomfield in his Charge of 1842 tried very hard to please everyone. He announced his disapproval of any attempts to make the Articles look towards Rome;[22] he insisted that tradition was of restricted use;[23] he maintained that the sacrifice of the Eucharist was a spiritual sacrifice and that the altar was a figurative altar;[24] and he asked the clergy to be especially careful not to place on the same footing ceremonies ordained by the Church and the sacraments ordained by Jesus.[25] The outward means and aids to religion were not religion itself, and their use and value disappeared when men forgot that they were merely contributions to the great ends of religion.

But with these oblique censures and strictures came the recognition that the Oxford Movement was striving for a full and exact observance of the Church's rubrical injunctions as well as for a better understanding of the foundations and proportions of her polity. Churchmen " ought not to overlook the real good which [it had] effected in one direction ", even if they contemplated " with apprehension the evil " which it was to be feared the Tractarians had wrought in another.[26]. After all, " unwarrantable omissions and alterations of the Church service " should be viewed more seriously than " unauthorized additions to her ritual."[27] A competent authority might lawfully dispense with the Canons, but not with the rubrics,[28] which every clergyman must obey. Blomfield thought that if the clergy should not go " beyond the Church's ritual ", at least they ought " not to fall short of it."[29] He admitted that the Tractarians had gone too far, but " an honest endeavour to carry out the Church's intentions, in every part of public worship, ought not to be stigmatized as popish or superstitious."[30] There was undoubtedly laxity in ceremonial, and the Church owed a duty to " the learned and pious men " who had called attention " to a branch of duty too long imperfectly performed."[31]

Consequently certain apparent novelties, which represented a return to ancient practice, were commendable. These included daily prayers,[32] the observance of fasts and feasts,[33] and the more frequent celebration of Holy Communion.[34]. For until ceremonial properly fulfilled the Church's intentions, people did not really know what the Church was or what she was capable of effecting.[35] Blomfield even went so far as to concede that certain other ceremonial practices were not open to serious objection. These included putting candles on the Communion Table, provided that they were unlit save during Evensong; doing obeisance on entering and leaving the church, provided that there was no intention of adoring the sacred elements; and, what was to cause even more discussion, preaching in the surplice.[36]

The storm aroused by his Charge unaccountably astonished Blomfield. He completely failed to realize how high feeling now ran: even as late as 1838 he had spoken as if Evangelicals and Tractarians would find it quite easy to collaborate in the work of church extension. The times were not propitious to balanced judgement, and those who ventured to deliver it were sure to be assailed from both sides. Yorke denied that the externals of religion were in themselves beneficial and declared that strict conformity with the rubric was neither practicable nor desirable.[37] Holloway[38] and Sutcliffe[39] agreed with him; and Pinhorn considered that the language of the Liturgy was true and scriptural only in certain circumstances.[40] " One of the Laity " maintained that Blomfield based his Charge on a fundamental misconception: errors did not arise from a lack of due respect for the forms of the Church, but from an overweening attachment to them. He made the good point that the immediate result of the Charge would be not uniformity, as Blomfield had hoped, but infinite variation, because there were many practices which he allowed but did not recommend.[41] It was especially lamentable that he should appear to qualify his censure of a " host of mushroom divines " who gave " vent to ebullitions of youthful vanity by attaching a sanctimonious importance to the frothy nothings of their school."[42] Sutcliffe thought it a waste of time to discuss " contemptible mummeries ", while the challenge from Rome was so bold.[43] He had read Blomfield's Charge with " extreme pain ",[44] for the bishop had acknowledged his obligations to the Tractarians for recalling Churchmen to the necessity of stricter rubrical observance. This was like a colonel of a regiment acknowledging his shortcomings and thanking his men for supplying them.[45]

It is true that Blomfield found some support, and Gladstone speaks very contemptuously of such objectors as Holloway, Yorke and Sutcliffe.[46] But Gladstone is not here altogether impartial. The fact was that neglect of the rubric was more general in London than elsewhere, and Blomfield's opinions on this subject would have been keenly discussed, however he voiced them. The storm showed no signs whatever of abating. On the contrary, many who had at first approved soon declared their opposition. The *Record* grew bold enough to taunt Blomfield with turning his suggestions into injunctions[47] and invited the recalcitrant clergy to look to the laity for support against their bishop.[48]

There were unseemly disturbances at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch; and at St. Mary's, Islington, three thousand people assembled. Although the vicar presided, the meeting, which degenerated into a riot, lasted from six o'clock in the evening to three o'clock the next morning with groans, yells, hisses and cries of " more pigs, less parsons."[49] So vital and disturbing did the whole controversy appear, that the *Quarterly Review* came out two months before its usual time, and an article, based upon an appraisal of five books dealing with ceremonialism, found a prominent place in it. Croker was the author, and Archdeacon Wilberforce had carefully revised what he wrote.[50] The article declared that Blomfield had given his opinions somewhat hesitatingly: the result was to furnish his clergy with discretionary latitude rather than decisive direction. But his very hints would have a powerful effect in his own diocese and hardly less so in others, when his brethren had not as yet seen fit to make any public pronouncement.[51] In matters of general discipline, informal consultations among the bishops would be helpful. At present there were priests in white gowns at one end of London Bridge, and priests in black gowns at the other. This the review described as an " unseemly inconsistency."[52] The *Record* had predicted that these variations would occur and had spoken as if they were the supreme disaster,[53] and of course all those who think that uniformity is the same as unity and that all Anglican clergymen should adopt the same ceremonial down to the minutest detail will agree with it. The *Quarterly* found it very difficult to understand why Blomfield should object to the floral decoration of the Communion Table and then at the same time sanction the placing of candles there, provided that they were not lighted save at Evensong. Adequate lighting was the business of churchwardens, and surely Blomfield could see that those introducing lights into new places did so only to imitate the Popish altar. He appeared to sanction this, together with other " fooleries."[54]

All might have been well had Blomfield stood by his Charge. The attitude of the Islington clergy, however, induced him to make concessions. Seventeen of them told him at a confirmation that to put his views on ceremonial into practice would so " disgust their congregations " that conformity would be impossible.[55] It was not that they themselves objected to preaching in the surplice. It was really more convenient for them. But they could not afford to reckon without the conservative instincts of their congregations. On the next day the *Record* contained a letter from " Presbyters of the Church of England ", complaining bitterly of the degradation to which the bishop was subjecting the most gifted and indefatigable of his clergy. The writers called upon the clergy and the laity to petition the Queen and Peel.[56]

As a result Blomfield yielded; and the clergy were able to announce to their parishes that the services would continue unaltered. W. H. Brookfield was only one among many London clergy who had started preaching in a surplice and soon returned to the black gown.[57] Dukinfield of St. Martin-in-the-Fields had never departed from the old practice.[58] After a confirmation at St. Marylebone in May, 1843, Blomfield did not insist that any of the officiating clergy should wear the surplice in the pulpit.[59] On June 15, 1843, the *Record* could jubilantly announce that Blomfield had given way,[60] especially as he expressly disclaimed any intention of enforcing a weekly offertory and spoke in a circular letter of leaving the introduction of unfamiliar ceremonial to the judgement of the clergy.

But those who had conscientiously tried to carry out Blomfield's wishes as expressed in his Charge were not disposed to recede. They had an uncomfortable feeling that their bishop had led them into an untenable position and had then deserted them. Timothy Gibson, senior curate of St. Matthew's Bethnal Green, declared that he had complied with Blomfield's rubrical directions for two years without the slightest interference from his parishioners. Then some of them became infected with " Puritan notions " from an adjoining parish, and he deemed it wise to take advantage of Blomfield's subsequent withdrawal and revert to the order of service which prevailed before the bishop had delivered his Charge.[61]

More and more clergy, however, were becoming definitely partisan. To Maurice the terms *Party* and *Church* were antipathetic and he could not deprecate their connexion too strongly.[62] But Maurice was not very fashionable. If the Evangelicals were not renowned for their meekness, the Tractarians were skilled controversialists, with a keen eye for publicity. They knew how to make the most of Blomfield's difficulties; his concessions in 1842 merely emboldened them; and they were not in the least dismayed by his now obvious hostility. The basis of his recommendation of Sinclair to Peel for the archdeaconry of Middlesex was Sinclair's " moderate views ";[63] and Dale owed the support Blomfield gave his candidature for a canonry of St. Paul's to his freedom, in the eyes of the bishop, "from any tendency to Tractarian opinions."[64] Blomfield also, contrary to advice from Canterbury,[65] insisted on prosecuting Oakley for excessive ceremonialism,[66] and in his Charge of 1846 he denounced the Oxford Movement as undermining the very foundations of Christian faith.[67]

Ceremonialism was growing more elaborate and coming to embrace the mixed chalice, vestments, altar cloths, the credence table and processions. The *Record* blamed Blomfield, and accused him of presenting too many Tractarian clergy to livings in his gift. That austere journal exempted such parishes as St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and Margaret Street Chapel. The congregations here consisted of " amateurs ", and the *Record* concluded that they were doubtless in search of something more soothing than the ordinary congregational service. But when Blomfield appointed " Tractarians " to livings in Shoreditch, Bethnal Green and Hackney, it was a different matter. All the rural deans in the diocese were alleged to have Tractarian sympathies, too.[68] It seemed to the *Record* that the threats of active and enthusiastic Tractarians were alarming Blomfield so much that to obviate the danger of their seceding from the Church he was too ready to close with them on any terms.[69]

But, as " A Simple Protestant " pointed out, Blomfield had a " doubly difficult " part to play.[70] He had himself appeared to wish to see revised some of the ancient ceremonies, and it would now savour of inconsistency if he were to take stern measures to stop them. The problem was not even as simple as that. In the more depressing and neglected areas of London, the colour and warmth of elaborate ceremonial was an agreeable relief. Some of the clergy were acting on the theory of Sydney Smith, who considered it the Church's first business to secure a congregation from any motive not undignified and ridiculous and then to maintain it by a good one. Among them was Bennett, who, after a distinguished career at Westminster School and Christ Church, became minister of Portman Chapel, until in 1840 Blomfield appointed him vicar of the new parish of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge. He was then a moderate High Churchman, with no tendency to ceremonialism. But he developed into a hearty supporter of the Tractarians, and Blomfield's Charge of 1842 encouraged him, although he advanced cautiously and systematically. He advocated with great persuasive power the building of another church, in a very squalid part of the parish, inhabited by a criminal population. He was able to open a school for over three hundred children in 1847, and he celebrated Holy Communion daily at St. Paul's. There were daily services of morning and evening prayer; and on Sundays and saints' days there were two communion services, with sermons. On Sunday there was in addition an afternoon service. This was a striking contrast to the observance prevailing in many other churches in

Blomfield's diocese. In these the clergy celebrated Holy Communion but once a month and Divine Service once a week. Most of the richly-endowed City clergy kept their churches shut all the week and showed their faces in them only one day in seven.[71]

It was impossible, therefore, to reprimand Bennett too severely, and in any case, as Blomfield afterwards explained, he could not prohibit innovations in ceremonial unless the law in express terms forbade them.[72] Bennett went on with his evangelism and his elaborate services, and his exertions resulted in the consecration of the unusually sumptuous church of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, in 1851. But popular opinion, excited by the " No Popery " agitation, made the most of his excesses and expressed itself in riots. In the course of a voluminous correspondence, he told Blomfield that he intended gradually to introduce " pious and Catholic customs."[73] The Church must get rid of puritanical prejudices,[74] and he himself, undaunted by the abuse to which he was subjected, aimed at winning back people to holiness and love by external magnificence.[75]

After an enormous amount of worry, Blomfield managed to secure Bennett's resignation. But even then the troubles were by no means over. Bennett was easily represented as a martyr to episcopal persecution,[76] and *The Guardian* declared that Blomfield cared nothing for the parishioners of St. Barnabas: he was bent on pleasing people who worshipped neither at St. Barnabas nor anywhere else.[77] It painted an affecting picture of the service when Bennett officiated for the last time. The poor crowded the chancel steps; " their sorrow showed itself in sobs and tears "; and the choristers were overcome by " a like outburst of simple and uncontrollable emotion ". " But the poor ", observed *The Guardian* cuttingly, " are not the public and have no influence with *The Times*."[78] These taunts might have been borne, but Bennett's resignation by no means resulted in the end of ceremonialism, for his successor, Liddell, followed closely in his footsteps. The only gain was a little less publicity.

" A Simple Protestant " ventured to give Blomfield some advice. It was important to take care that the successors of Bennett and his fellow enthusiasts would be competent and willing to do the same good, with the omission of the objectionable ceremonialism. Blomfield must realize that " a cold nasal service " would no longer suffice.[79] Even the *Record* advised the clergy to confront Tractarian ceremonial with more than a cold, dry negative. They should at least consider incorporating into their services all the ceremonial which had no connexion with Rome.[80]

The Tractarian quarrel and the resultant disputes about ceremonial cruelly revealed Blomfield's limitations. Doctrine was not his strong point, and his efforts to interpret it through ceremonial practice were unconvincing. His efforts to enforce consistency in public worship somehow appeared even more unsuccessful than they really were, and he acquired a reputation for mismanagement, largely because his detractors publicized his failures so industriously. As late as 1854, *Punch* published an unforgettable parody of Blomfield's apparent vacillation. The parody is entitled *Bishop Janus on Puseyism,* and includes the following attempt to mollify outraged parishioners:

> You object to the Perpetual Bowing. I quite agree with you and think that no persons should bow in church, except when they see an acquaintance, when, of course, common politeness dictates a smiling recognition, whatever part of the ceremony may be going on. But this practice is too universal among the orthodox to need my sanction. There is a very good paper in Addison's *Spectator* on the subject, but, as its argument goes the other way, you need not read it, unless you like.[81]

If *Punch* were his only critic no harm would have been done. But Biber[82] and Church[83] have left us with the picture of a leader who was not a guide. They have shown us an administrator uncertain in purpose and vague in direction. Biber and Church are entitled to serious attention, although they had their prejudices. The pity is that this problem of ceremonial demanded a solution when Blomfield was physically past his prime and liable to severe attacks of nervous debility. His reputation has suffered, because he did not acquit himself with dignity and resolution in a controversy in which the present age takes comparatively little interest.

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[1] C. J. Blomfield: *The Duty of Canonical Adherence to the Ritual of the Church,* p. 19.

[2] C. J. Blomfield: *A Letter to Charles Butler,* p. 31.

[3] A. Blomfield: *A Memoir of Bishop Blomfield,* p. 226.

[4] A. Mozley (Ed.): *The Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman,* Vol. II, p. 337

[5] G. Faber: *The Oxford Apostles,* p. 428.

[6] A Blomfield: *A Memoir of Bishop Blomfield,* p. 229.

[7] B.M. Add. Mss. 40489. F.152 Blomfield to Peel, 21st September, 1841.

[8] W. R. Stephens: *The Life of W. F. Hook,* p. 316.

[9] C. J. Blomfield: "The Light of the World," p. 20.

[10] *Ibid.,* pp. 20-21.

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[11] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[12] "Layman": *The Solemnity of our Anglo-Catholic Ritualism Defended*, p. 31.

[13] Y. Brilioth: *The Anglican Revival*, pp. 325-326.

[14] C. T. Cruttwell: *Six Lectures on the Oxford Movement*, p. 71.

[15] S. L. Ollard: *A Short History of the Oxford Movement*, p. 74.

[16] I. Williams: *Autobiography*, p. 76.

[17] Y. Brilioth: *The Anglican Revival*, p. 326.

[18] S. L. Ollard: *A Short History of the Oxford Movement*, pp 159-170 *passim*.

[19] R. D. Middleton: *Magdalen Studies*, p. 39.

[20] C. T. Cruttwell: *Six Lectures on the Oxford Movement*, p. 143.

[21] D. C. Lathbury: *The Correspondence on the Church and Religion of W. E. Gladstone*, Vol. I, p. 335.

[22] C. J. Blomfield: *The Charge of* 1842, pp. 59-62.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 36, p. 38.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 48-54 *passim*.

[37] C. I. York: *A Respectful Address to the Lord Bishop of London*, pp. 16-24.

[38] J. Holloway: *The Reply*: *Baptismal Regeneration and Sacramental Justification not the Doctrine of the Church*, p. 51.

[39] J. Sutcliffe: *The Letter to the Lord Bishop of London*, p. 16.

[40] G. Pinhorn: *A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London*, p. 17.

[41] "One of the Laity": *The Charge of the Bishop of London Examined*, pp. 20-21.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[43] J. Sutcliffe: *The Letter to the Lord Bishop of London*, p. 36.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

[46] W. E. Gladstone: *Gleanings of Past Years*, Vol. V, pp. 20-21.

[47] *Record*, May 15, 1843.

[48] *Record*, May 24, 1848.

[49] T. N. Harper: *A Plea for Simple Toleration*, p. 178.

[50] L. J. Jennings: (Ed.): *The Croker Papers*, Vol. III, p. 2.

[51] *Quarterly Review*, May, 1843, Vol. LXXII, p. 289.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 242

[53] *Record*, November 7, 1842.

[54] *Quarterly Review*, May, 1843. Vol. LXXII. p. 272.

[55] G. E. Biber: *Bishop Blomfield and His Times*, pp. 333-334.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 336.

[57] C. and F. Brookfield: *Mrs. Brookfield and Her Circle*, Vol. I, p. 129.

[58] J. Dukinfield: *A Memoir of the Rev. Sir H. R. Dukinfield, Bt.*, p. 90

[59] *Church and State Gazette*, May 19, 1843.

[60] *Record* June 15, 1843.

[61] T. N. Harper: *A Plea for Simple Toleration*, pp. 180-181.

[62] F. D. Maurice: *Reasons for Not Joining a Party in the Church*, p. 7.

[63] B.M. Add. Mss. 40535: F.35: Blomfield to Peel, May 7, 1843.

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[64] B.M. Add. Mss. 40533. F.339: Blomfield to Peel, October 10.

[65] B.M. Add. Mss. 40562. F.2: Howley to Peel, March 6, 1843.

[66] B.M. Add. Mss. 40262. F.4: Blomfield to Peel, March 10, 1845.

[67] C. J. Blomfield: *The Charge of 1846,* p. 15.

[68] *Record,* February 2, 1846.

[69] *Record,* May 16, 1850.

[70] " A Simple Protestant ": *Reflections Arising Out of Popish Aggression,* p. 18.

[71] *Guardian,* August 29, 1849.

[72] C. J. Blomfield: *The Charge of 1850,* pp. 53-54.

[73] *St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and St. Barnabas, Pimlico: Correspondence Between the Bishop of London with* [sic] *the Rev. J. Bennett,* p. 7.

[74] *Ibid.,* p. 11.

[75] *Ibid.,* pp. 11-12.

[76] *Guardian,* November 27, 1850; December 18, 1850.

[77] *Guardian,* December 18, 1850.

[78] *Ibid.*

[79] " A Simple Protestant ": *Reflections Arising Out of Popish Aggression* p. 7.

[80] *Record,* October 30, 1851.

[81] *Punch,* Vol. 26, p. 171.

[82] See his *Bishop Blomfield and His Times,* p. 347.

[83] See *The Oxford Movement* p. 217.

"The Guardian" Fifty Years Ago

THE HUMAN BACKGROUND

By Frederick Grover

FIFTY-ONE years ago I first entered as a youth the office of *The Guardian* at No. 5 Burleigh Street, Strand, thus beginning a connexion which lasted until the death of the paper in November, 1951. The office was housed in an old three-storied building standing between a church and a public house, and facing the stage-door of the Lyceum Theatre through which in their day Henry Irving and Ellen Terry came and went. Exeter Hall was round the corner in the Strand; it was pulled down in 1907, with the *Guardian* office, the public house and the church, to make way for the Strand Palace Hotel. *The Guardian* then moved to King Street, Covent Garden.

Burleigh Street had its peculiar character and fascination in 1903, with its market bustle and noise, the flowers and vegetables, the pleasant tinkle of an occasional street organ, and the street performers who entertained the queues waiting to get into the pit and gallery of the theatre. There were contortionists, men who tore old newspapers into fancy designs, spoon and plate rattlers and ballad mongers. In the midst of this daily hubbub and also at No. 7 in the same street, the staff of *The Guardian* did its work. When I went in I was dealt with first by an elderly and irascible man with a beard and a lame leg; later I learned that he was the Publisher. A younger man, with a Kitchener moustache, sat behind a partition in a corner; he was the bookkeeper. Three smart alert youths went to and fro, the irascible man addressing them by their Christian names of George, Alec and John. It was, I observed later on, one of the duties of John after the rush of publishing day (for all the bundles were issued across the counter amid some uproar) to fetch the Publisher a stiff whisky from the neighbouring public house. He did it with suitable dignity and gravity, and nobody considered that there was anything unusual or improper in this mid-morning refection; certainly it mellowed the irascibility of the Publisher.

I was taken up a wooden staircase to the first floor. On the landing I passed another elderly man, bearded and bald-headed, in a shabby black suit, green and shiny with the years. He, I learned, was a sub-editor, a scholar, a master of Greek and Latin and of four or five living languages—a quiet, shy, reserved man who only spoke when his work made it necessary. Nobody ever saw him eat or drink anything, and at times he would stand silent, hands clasped behind his back, looking through the window. He remained somewhat of an enigma until he finally disappeared. Through an open door I saw yet another elderly person, also nearly bald-headed, spectacled, and with an untidy moustache. He may here be named, for he was an important *Guardian* figure, and also well known in Fleet Street—George Tarran, sub-editor, news editor, reporter, one of the most sober-minded, conscientious and hard-working journalists of his day. His great love was Church music, particularly that of All Saints', Margaret Street, and the performances of Bach's Passion music at St. Anne's, Soho. The 1914-18 war was a sorrow to him, for, stout Churchman though he was, he suffered some distress (though he did not proclaim it) at the support given by the Church and the bishops to the nation's part in the conflict.

My first immediate chief at *The Guardian* (though W. J. B. Odhams was Manager) was the Advertisement Manager. Of him it is important that something should be said, for he played a vital part in the fortunes of *The Guardian* in those days. He may even be said to have got it through a critical period, for, looking back over the years, one sees in retrospect what did not stand out noticeably at the moment. The temper of the times, the political, social and religious outlook should be recalled. The beginning of the century marked deep changes in the national life. The South African War had ended triumphantly. Queen Victoria had died in 1901, Edward VII was King; Archbishop Frederick Temple had died in 1902 and Randall Davidson had been translated from the see of Winchester to the Primacy. The female suffragists were beginning to be actively troublesome. It was the end of an era; the old order was changing, giving place to new. There were significant trends. Victorian inhibitions were weakening. Robert Blatchford was preaching Socialism weekly in the *Clarion*, and in 1903 published the first edition of *God and My Neighbour*, a singularly ill-informed but virulent attack on the Christian faith which ran into 4 editions in less than a year. A new outbreak of rationalism and materialism was disclosed in 1904 when the Rationalist Press Association began to issue sixpenny reprints of such works as Leslie Stephens's *An Agnostic's Apology,* Huxley's *Lectures and Essays,* Edward Clodd's *The Story of Creation,* and Renan's *Life of Jesus.* " There is no such thing as sin ", declared Blatchford, and he added that " in a really humane and civilized nation there should be and need be no such thing as crime and hate, greed, vice ", and much else that he listed. He did not live to see the Welfare State furnishing its answer to this pernicious nonsense, but tens of thousands of immature and ill-trained minds assimilated it. Not so many years earlier Kipling's *Recessional* had struck a prophetic warning note, and if in 1903 the nation was not perhaps " drunk with power " multitudes were confused in mind and there was widespread muddled thinking— not that we can escape that charge to-day.

Those were probably among the factors of the contemporary situation which led the then proprietors of *The Guardian* to consider the need of innovations. Canon Hobhouse, tall, austere, scholarly, had recently become Editor, with Penderel-Brodhurst as Assistant Editor—who had joined the staff in 1903, after being leader-writer to the *Standard,* a daily newspaper which had just died — " The Shoe Lane catastrophe," was Penderel-Brodhurst's description of the end of that well-known and respected organ. (Another significant death in the newspaper world at that time was that of the *Echo,* an evening newspaper, and another evening paper, the *Sun,* came to an end soon after, and the *Globe* followed. The demise of these papers is recalled as showing the uncertainty of existence for the Press in those days.) Hobhouse had a room at No. 7 Burleigh Street, wherein Penderel-Brodhurst and Martin Sharp—a son, I believe, of one of the original founders of *The Guardian*—were also housed. One member of the staff not yet mentioned was a little elderly man, bearded and whiskered, who also occupied a room at No. 7. He had very tiny feet, upon which he trotted rather than walked, and he was never seen in other than a top-hat. He was a classical scholar, meticulous in his work, and took a long time to write a " Week " paragraph of 300 words, but when it was finished it was a concise and finely polished little piece of English prose. Very little was known of him privately. After his retirement he went into solitary lodgings in a small house away from London, where, some years later, I visited him. With exquisite old-world courtesy he produced a glass of wine and a cigarette, though he must have been poor. He told me that his landlord and landlady were estimable folk, but they insisted upon talking Bernard Shaw—" And ", he said with a dry chuckle, "What is the use of anybody without a classical education trying to talk about Bernard Shaw? "

This by way of digression. In seeking to recapture the Burleigh Street scene in 1903 I referred to the subject of advertisements. Until that year *The Guardian*, I believe, had never had an Advertisement Manager. Certainly the paper printed advertisements, but most of them had been sent unsolicited. Publishers of books in many instances needed but a friendly reminder, and this responsibility fell upon the irascible man with a beard and a lame leg. " Dear Mr. —— ", he would cause his clerk to write. " I see that in our corresponding number last year you had a quarter page. I should be glad to have it repeated . . .", or words to that effect. And almost invariably an order was the response. Often, too, a personal call brought the same useful result.

But while this Victorian system worked well in its day, it was not good enough for a new era. Lord Northcliffe once observed that whereas he could easily find all the editorial brains he wanted in Fleet Street, it was not easy to find a good advertising man. *The Guardian* was making changes. If it was to fulfil its purpose it needed a bigger income, and since no newspaper can exist on circulation alone it was to advertisements that the proprietors turned for increased revenue. *The Guardian* was fortunate in getting the right man for the task. Determined, practical, tireless and imaginative, he left no likely source of advertisement revenue untapped, and his efforts bore good fruit. Each day, from about 9.30 to 5 p.m., would be spent on a round of calls upon agents and principals of big businesses. After that he would settle down to writing letters pointing out the " unique position " of *The Guardian* as an advertising medium for various commodities. For example, the vendor of a certain brand of tobacco was reminded that " large numbers of the clergy of the Church of England are pipe-smokers ", and it was put as an unassailable proposition to makers of safety razors and shaving soap that most of the Anglican clergy were clean shaven. He brought in considerable business in this way. Once *The Guardian* contained a substantial advertisement of a famous brandy, and about this there was some uneasiness and discussion, as there was about a harmless tonic wine. There is reason for believing that Canon Hobhouse was perturbed, for a few readers protested, more in sorrow than in anger. The Manager of *The Guardian* at that time (and for long afterwards) was William J. B. Odhams, a pattern of wisdom, discretion and patience, and to him it fell to act as an ambassador of appeasement between the editorial and advertisement departments. Odhams, who, with his father, had been associated with *The Guardian* for many years, was fully conscious of the history, character and tradition of the paper. But he was also a keen man of affairs, and knew that *The Guardian* needed additional revenue. " No business enterprise ", he once remarked, " can afford to stand still and live on the past. It will either go forward or die gradually ". In 1903 the great business of Odhams Press Limited was in its infancy. At that time William Odhams had many small worries and some big anxieties. He had the affairs of *The Guardian* and of his own company both on his hands. Constantly active, cool, level-headed, his responsibilities kept him on the move between No. 5 and 7 Burleigh Street and Long Acre, where his new premises were taking shape. But he never showed irritation or ill-humour. " To think things over ", he once wrote to a business associate, " I took a walk in St. James's Park ". He sought other relaxation in an occasional half day at golf and in the Gilbert and Sullivan operas, of which, I believe, he bought all the scores. Over all who worked for him he maintained a firm but kindly discipline. His older employees he addressed by their Christian names—Alfred, James, Joseph, Fred, were some of them—and by them he was spoken of as " Mr. Willie ".

He was thus an excellent link between Hobhouse and the Advertisement Manager, but the tenure of Hobhouse as Editor did not last beyond 1905. Penderel-Brodhurst, who then succeeded him, was a remarkable man, of very definite views which he expressed with vigour alike in writing and in conversation. He was sturdy, strong, with a fine head, hair close-cropped and a short-trimmed moustache. In addition to a notable journalistic record (he had written some thousands of leading articles for the *Standard* and other newspapers and 150 articles for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*), he was the author of a Life of Edward VII and part author of *The Royal River* and *Abbeys and Churches of England and Wales*. He disliked Socialism, and said so; he declared in conversation that King Charles was a martyr, that Cromwell was a scoundrel, that Ibsen and all Scandinavian authors were mad; that

Oscar Wilde wrote a great deal of rubbish ("I could write the same kind of thing myself", he said). He said that he knew nothing of music, and that his favourite melody was "Twinkle, twinkle, little star". He believed in ghosts and assured me once that he had seen two. He had a dry wit, and dealt candidly with aggrieved correspondents. One of these, offended by an editorial opinion in *The Guardian*, had written that he would like to come to the office and kick the Editor. Penderel-Brodhurst, in a brief reply, said he would be glad if the correspondent would call and do so. "There are four flights of stairs to my room", he wrote, "and I am the strongest man in the office".

His policy as Editor was to maintain the position of *The Guardian* as the organ of central Churchmanship. Its columns were, as always, open to Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics alike, though he did not take kindly to extremists at either end. On some small points he was adamant—for example, he would not allow an Anglican priest to be described in *The Guardian* as "Father". "No fathers in the Church of England", he would declare with emphasis in speech and pencil as he knocked the word out if he discovered it in proof or manuscript, substituting "the Rev." or plain "Mr." He watched trends and events in the Roman Catholic Church with particular interest, particularly at the time of the dismissal of Father George Tyrrell from the Society of Jesus (1906) for an unorthodox *Letter to a Professor of Anthropology*. Tyrrell died three years later, and much was written in *The Guardian* on this unhappy business. Here emerges a strange figure among the anonymous contributors to *The Guardian* at about that time—a Roman Catholic (presumably) writer whose *nom de plume* was Cisalpine. His identity was known to nobody in the office but Penderel-Brodhurst; rarely was a secret so closely guarded. Many years after the letters had stopped, and after the death of the Editor, Odhams, and most of the other old members of the staff, I was venturesome enough to ask the last survivor, Martin Sharp, "Did you ever know the identity of Cisalpine?" "No", he snapped, almost angrily, "and if I did I shouldn't tell you". The rebuke was deserved, and I felt somewhat ashamed.

Penderel-Brodhurst did not approve of "heresy hunts" in the Anglican Church. About 1913 the Bishop of Zanzibar (Dr. Weston) had issued an Open Letter about the KiKuyu conference which began with a denunciation of "the long series of Modernist publications with which we have become familiar". In particular the bishop, in referring to *Foundations*, alleged that it was then possible for any priest "to deny the trustworthiness of the Bible, the authority of the Church and the infallibility of Christ". Thereupon Penderel-Brodhurst published an article which briefly recalled the controversies which had followed the appearance of *Essays and Reviews, Lux Mundi* and *Foundations*. As to the last the article ended: "It is a sign of the times which may occasion to some uneasiness and searchings of heart and to others feelings of hope and thankfulness that a collection of essays which half a century ago might have caused an intellectual upheaval, has to-day been received with little more than passing interest". And a few years later another article on the same theme observed that "*The Guardian* is consistent with its past traditions in questioning the wisdom or expediency of delating Mr. Major under a statute passed more than 80 years ago".

This vignette of Penderel-Brodhurst would be incomplete without a few final touches. He was, as all recognized, an able editor, but in one notable field he left practically untouched an urgent contemporary need—a re-examination and restatement of the philosophical background of the Christian faith. So it seems to me at this distance of time; I hope that I am wrong; it may be so, but I think that it would have stuck in my memory if there had been between 1903 and 1914 any considered and sustained policy in *The Guardian* in this field. But only once did I hear the editor mention philosophy, apart from a little light skirmishing about Bergson after his Oxford lecture in 1911 on *La Perception du Changement*. T. A. Lacey was, I believe, one of the rare philosophical voices in *The Guardian* at that time. Reade, of Oxford, had not started to discuss in *The Guardian* the contemporary philosophical outlook until about 20 years later, a period not within my present terms of reference. The nearest approach to philosophy ever made by Penderel-Brodhurst in my hearing was this: "Metaphysics? A blind man in a dark cellar looking for a black cat that isn't there".

No; his interests were in other matters—Church and State, history, socialism, the Old Catholics, continental politics, the claims of the unbeneficed clergy, Church schools, the fight against Welsh Disestablishment and indeed against any other attack on the Church. He was a staunch defender of the memory of King Charles the

Martyr, and took great pride in his own descent from the Penderel who saved King Charles II in the Boscabel oak after the Battle of Worcester. His interest in history carried him into the lesser-known byways—he was always ready, for instance, to talk of Doumouriez, Josephine at Malmaison, the Boulanger affair and the scene in the restaurant Durand on the night when the General, his confidence failing him, refused to march at the head of a clamouring crowd to the Elysée to turn out the President and seize power. Hearing all this it occurred to me that Penderel-Brodhurst may have wished that Boulanger had marched, and overthrown the Third Republic. All of which may be said to fill in the picture of a past able editor of *The Guardian.*

In his first years as Editor, Penderel-Brodhurst had as a wise and valued counsellor Dr. A. W. Robinson, then living in a clergy house near Tower Hill, who came frequently to Burleigh Street for confidential discussion. The Editor also had the help of many able reviewers, clerical and lay; their work was always anonymous. They were mostly men of mature age, and now, alas, are departed.

One of the experiments of fifty years ago was the introduction of a weekly Women's Supplement, bound up with the main body of the paper. It was edited by the widow of a suffragan bishop, with the assistance of a former headmistress of a well-known girls' school. These ladies were accommodated in a room above that of Penderel-Brodhurst. The supplement was ably conducted, and contained articles by competent women writers upon a wide variety of topics —sociological, educational, literary, travel, and cookery. The Advertisement Manager put the supplement to good use by bringing in more advertisement revenue. Figures were not my concern, but my impression is that between about 1908 and the beginning of the 1914 war the position of *The Guardian* was, if not prosperous, quite comfortable—a situation due, one would say, to the teamwork of Penderel-Brodhurst, Odhams, the Advertisement Manager, the ladies who ran the Women's Supplement, and all below them. During the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908 *The Guardian* even published a daily edition, in addition to the ordinary weekly issue. There was also a substantial Christmas Books Supplement, and the annual Church Congresses were made the occasion of bigger issues and more advertisements.

Two small popular Church papers — *Church Bells* and the *Church Evangelist* were acquired during the period under review;

each was run separately for a time from the office of *The Guardian*, but neither was able to survive.

It was not until 1903, I believe, that a typewriter was used in the office, the only telephone was in the room of W. J. B. Odhams, and no girls were employed until about 1907, when about three were enlisted. Until *The Guardian* left Burleigh Street the whole of the paper was set up by hand; the linotype had not yet been adopted. and this at a time when issues sometimes consisted of 36 and 48 pages.

These scattered recollections of the years 1903-1914 must end here, though more could be said of the later and final period. The early years of the century were happy ones in Burleigh Street. What was impressive was the high sense of duty, responsibility and purpose shown by all from editor to office boy. There was content and good companionship, and nobody sought place, big money or security. A general mood of gravity and the importance of *The Guardian* and everything associated with it pervaded Burleigh Street. Perhaps this mood, growing from 1846 onward, had resulted in an absence of any sense of humour in some of the older members of the staff. Nobody even smiled, for example, when the dignified editress of the Women's Supplement was persuaded (for advertising reasons, I believe) to visit the London Hippodrome, then a newly-opened theatre of varieties of a better type than the contemporary West End music hall. The bishop's widow duly went, was enchanted, and wrote a eulogy of some length which included the noteworthy sentence: "Then there is a first-rate band, which plays with great vigour but is yet not loud"—a Barchester description of a typical variety theatre orchestra which should not pass into oblivion. Nor did anybody laugh when the irritable old Publisher handed a letter to a timid office boy and the following dialogue ensued: "Here you are, my boy; d'you know where this s?" "No, Sir". "Well get out and find it". And there was a story in the office of an old free-lance journalist who was given an occasional reporting engagement. It seems that before a certain Church meeting he approached one of the speakers with a request for the manuscript of his coming speech. The speaker (a bishop) very curtly refused. When at the meeting he rose to speak, the reporter leaned over the press table and called out very audibly to a companion reporter: "Charlie, cut this fellow down; don't give him a line".

I have in my possession a book given to me by Penderel-Brodhurst inscribed "In memory of happy days". It is dated long after 1914, the year in which one happy period was drawing to a close. King Edward VII had died in 1910. The same year saw a political storm over Mr. Asquith's Parliament Act. In 1912-13 Ulster was arming against a Home Rule Bill. The Suffragettes had been troublesome for a long time. The final crisis came on June 28, 1914, with the murder at Serajevo of the heir to the Austrian crown, and on August 4 Great Britain declared war on Germany. "The lights are going out over Europe", said Sir Edward Grey, and although the extinction of *The Guardian* was to be deferred for 37 years it is perhaps no exaggeration to say that the 1914 war struck the first serious blow at the position and future of the paper. It kept afloat through the first world war, though sadly shaken, and survived the second, but the old journal had run its course. Of these later chapters in its history it must remain for others to write.

THE EDUCATION OF SCIENTISTS

By K. G. COLLIER

I *The character of our society.*

We live in a highly complex society in which scientific and technical development has transformed the texture of ordinary life, and brought about a multitude of changes in habit and outlook whose full implications are not yet recognized. The scale of all organizations and communities (apart from the basic unit, the family) has steadily grown over the last few hundred years, and with it has arisen a multiplicity of contacts between individuals and between communities. The absorption of people into vast administrative machines has been widely associated with rigidity of control at the top and with consequent frustration, apathy and irresponsibility among the lower ranks. The growth of towns has often similarly been accompanied by a loss of social cohesion within the town, those who are less socially active dropping out of the normal community and forming a sub-layer of discontent and social sickness. The multiplication of contacts, both personally and through the mass-media of radio and press, has resulted in a ceaseless bombardment of ordinary people by alien ideas and values, which has produced confusion and uncertainty in their outlook.

Technical development has brought another set of consequences in its train. It has created a need for literate manual workers, as a result of which there has been a vast increase all over the world in the numbers of people possessing a primary education. This and other factors, such as the wide spread of the bourgeois virtues of individual enterprise and responsibility and the incessant propagation of the democratic ideal, have produced a world-wide demand for a greater participation by ordinary people in their own government, both in the backward countries and among the lower-income groups of western society.

Thirdly, the increasing mastery of nature has progressively reduced the acute sense of dependence on invisible extra-human powers which characterizes all primitive societies, and has consequently reduced the sense of need for a religious interpretation of life. Side by side with this trend has been the dazzling success of the physical sciences in interpreting the material universe in mechanical terms, and the increasingly rigorous standards of evidence required for belief as the influence of scientific thinking has widened. Western culture has as a result lost the intense conviction of the truth of Christianity which inspired its rise; no longer, in fact, has any profound convictions on religious questions.

II Conditions under which a complex modern society can maintain a civilized life.

In such a society as I have described it is necessary to have widely distributed through the population a sense of law; i.e., a belief in the validity of a civilized moral law and a belief in the need for law in society, together with habits of reasonable obedience to such law. Unless there is this sense of law, and unless it embodies the basic civilized values, such as justice, truth and tolerance, the wide distribution of power and the lack of strong religious sanctions may lead to its breaking up, or to its wearing itself out in internal conflict, or to one party using violent coercion on another, or to a general slackening of moral fibre. The absence of a clear-cut view of life in a society places a much greater burden on the individual's integrity.

Again, it is necessary to have a highly developed capacity for cooperation and belief in tolerance, or the multiplicity of contacts with people of different outlook and habits will serve merely as an irritant, dangerous within a country but especially so in international relations. Besides, when religious convictions are weak, the impact of the troubles and misfortunes of everyday life is liable to be disastrous unless social cohesion is resilient enough to cushion it. I am assuming that authoritarian types of religion are unlikely to be generally acceptable in a modern society; but it is possible that the psychological insecurity will prove more powerful, as a stimulus to the acceptance of such a religion, than the trend towards scepticism.

The leaders also in such a society require special qualifications. Probably the ablest 10 or 15 per cent. of the population largely control the innumerable committees of a modern society, from the Cabinet or the General Council of the T.U.C. to the executive committee of a Rotary Club branch or of a local charitable trust. It is of the highest importance that in a complex and rapidly changing society these people should have not only clear ideals and firm personal values, but a sense of the infinite perspective of human life and an explicit understanding of the way their society is moving. Otherwise that development is bound to depend largely on guesswork rather than on choice; guidance cannot help being tentative, but being tentative is not the same as having the blind lead the blind. Furthermore, the fact that the root of modern social change is the growth of science and technology implies that all leaders should have some imaginative understanding of the scientific and technical approach to things, and therefore also of the strange subterranean action of science and technology on society, together with the potentialities they contain for the relief of man's estate.

It is also essential, in a society where power is widely distributed, that persons in positions of leadership and authority should have a highly developed capacity for enlisting the willing cooperation of their subordinates. In a more hierarchical society the habit of obedience to authority can usually be relied on.

The views put forward in this section (II) involve value judgements. It is necessary to realize that we cannot reasonably discuss educational questions without making ethical assumptions, and that the real question we have to face is the extent and form of the responsibility that higher education may bear towards the maintenance of the European tradition of civilized values.

III The needs of a modern society in regard to higher education.

The higher education referred to is that given in universities and technical colleges whose goal is a degree or equivalent qualification. This paper being concerned primarily with the education of scientists, I take my examples from the scientific and mathematical field and the technologies related to it, such as medicine and engineering; but I regard the *principles* stated in this section as being of general validity.

If the preceding analysis is sound, higher education should have the following objectives.

(*a*) It should give students the basic knowledge and skill required for their future occupations; for example, organic chemistry, laboratory techniques, or the knowledge and recognition of common diseases.

(*b*) The second requirement of higher education is to give students certain broader knowledge and skills that are important for, but only indirectly related to, their job. I am thinking of sound judgement in the sphere of the chosen occupation; skill in weighing evidence; capacity for inventive or creative thinking; understanding of the principles of the relevant types of leadership; social skills, such as the bedside manner or the ability to cooperate happily with colleagues. Anyone will agree that these items of equipment are highly desirable, but many will argue that it is quite impossible, or quite inappropriate, to do anything on these lines during a degree course. I agree, naturally, that most of the development of such skills must await fuller experience after training is finished. But I would argue that it is essential that our future leaders should have learned to *recognize and appreciate* these objectives by the end of their training, and be put on the road towards acquiring them. At present the need is usually simply ignored.

(*c*) The third requirement is for students to be introduced to the great problems of human life and destiny; by which I mean those of the nature of the universe and of man; the meaning of human life; the nature of value and the validity of moral obligation; the growth and characteristic values of European civilization; the nature and rise of science; the typical qualities and problems of our contemporary technical society.

Such questions crop up pretty regularly, if incidentally, in the syllabuses of the arts subjects, and good lecturers will therefore have opportunity for showing the importance they themselves attach to them, of setting an example of an objective approach, and of drawing attention to some of the main relevant arguments. Such opportunities hardly ever arise, however, in the scientific syllabuses. How, then, was the deficiency overcome at Oxbridge in the past ? This was done—and indeed the whole teaching business leavened with a personal atmosphere—through extensive contacts between teachers and pupils outside the lecture room: dons have held " open evening " on Sundays; they have entertained undergraduates at meals; and even in tutorial or supervision periods they have, in the intimate atmosphere, been able to communicate and foster the attitudes suggested above. Besides, the proportion of science to arts undergraduates has not been excessive, and there has been the intermingling and mutual stimulation produced by the custom of collegiate living. But the essential point is that the senior members have accepted a pastoral function in relation to their pupils: perhaps the most distinctive single feature of the public-school-Oxbridge tradition of education.

Such a system could, however, only be effective when the majority of undergraduates came from homes and schools where such problems were regarded as important; where the contact with suitable books was facilitated; where the background of social experience and values was reasonably homogeneous; and where the social habits and outlook of the students made them personally welcome. Even at Oxbridge these conditions are no longer fulfilled. The undergraduates come from a far wider range of social backgrounds, often from homes and schools where the perennial problems of human life are not taken seriously and suitable reading is not provided. There has been an incursion of the " instrumentalist " or utilitarian attitude to higher education that has generally prevailed in Redbrick (as in American) universities: the attitude which regards a degree as purely " instrumental " to a better job. The background of experience and values is of course far less homogeneous. But in any case there is no longer anything like the same degree of agreement on fundamentals among members of the public school classes that there was in, say, 1900: the disintegration of the nineteenth-century world-view has gone a long way since then. Science and arts students, Christians and agnostics, socialists and conservatives, frequently find it almost impossible to understand one another now: the variety of assumptions, the complexity of the issues, have so much increased. Even at Oxbridge the traditional way of exercising the pastoral function has become quite inadequate.

The Redbrick universities and the technical colleges have always been far worse off than Oxbridge, and the lead given by the latter has thus been quite irrelevant. It becomes completely clear that if the pastoral function is to be adequately exercised under Redbrick conditions, it cannot be in the form worked out at Oxbridge.

But it is also, I think, equally clear that if the needs of the time are to be met the pastoral function must be accepted generally by all educational institutions; that it must be adapted to meet new conditions at Oxbridge; and that a new tradition has to be created at Redbrick. I will return to the question of ways and means later. Let me again state quite unambiguously that I am not suggesting that a tutor should tell his students what to think on these problems but that he should draw them into serious thought on them, help to clarify their ideas, direct their attention to some of the main views that have been held in the past, and especially set an example of objectivity, of integrity, and of personal conviction.

(*d*) The fourth requirement is the student's acceptance of a civilized code of values. I do not mean a window-dressing; I mean a clear-sighted orientation of the personality towards civilized standards and ideals. A simple test of such orientation is that the student pursues these values for their own sake, finds enjoyment in the satisfaction of them. To reach this state is not a sudden process; but at the university stage, when intellectual powers are at their height and human endeavour can be seen in its widest sweep, and, besides, the economic and psychological pressure of a routine job is as yet absent, young men and women, gathered in appropriate communities under suitable influences, seem to be particularly ready to commit themselves to high ideals.

For requirements (*c*) and (*d*) to be fulfilled there must be a certain orientation already present in the student, derived from his home or his school, in virtue of which he will be susceptible to an interest in the higher values and their intellectual sanctions and practical or aesthetic expression. There must be a corresponding sense of devotion in the lecturers which can infect the students; they must see their subjects in the light of some ideal, with some sense of their significance for mankind or for the probing of some unknown truth. The same conditions hold, I think, for the next requirement to be fulfilled.

(*e*) The fifth requirement is an understanding of the kind of society we live in: that is, of its political, economic, social and psychological structure and changes. One essential element here, as we have seen, is scientific and technical understanding. A second is an adequate theory of interpretation. This involves not so much a chronicle of events as a picture of the way in which human societies change and grow; and since the values to which the members of a society are predominantly attached offer one of the principal clues to its development, an adequate " theory of interpretation " will include some discussion of " value " and " obligation ", and of the values that characterize our own culture. We cannot, in fact, sharply separate the implementation of our third, fourth and fifth requirements.

Without such an understanding of contemporary social change *sub specie aeternitatis,* and the sense of perspective which it should bring, it is extremely difficult for the leaders of our society to distinguish, in the welter of movements and changing institutions, the criteria by which they should be judged and the developments which have the deepest significance for the good or evil of our society. Lionel Curtis once described an incident which illustrates the point. He was asked by an administrator in India what he thought was the best way to organize the settling of a fresh population in a newly irrigated district. Curtis's reply was to ask in turn what the administrator's object was, in terms of the people's manner of conducting their own lives. When the official found the answer to that question he discovered that he had also answered the other question. A man with a firm grasp of the perspective of civilization is able to refer matters of practical policy to clearly conceived ends and values. Once one has left full-time education one gets so absorbed in professional specialisms, whether of thought or action, that it becomes difficult to acquire a rounded picture of civilization and a general framework of interpretation for contemporary events.

Such an objective has, of course, been all along the purpose of a classical education, as especially exemplified by the Greats course at Oxford. But Greats is not everyone's meat; much of the time is spent on linguistic techniques, much on technical philosophy. Above all, it gives a rounded picture, not of our civilization but of an earlier one profoundly different from ours in various ways. The University College of North Staffordshire has set itself to give something much nearer to our requirement in its first-year course on Western Civilization, but no other university or technical college in this country attempts to do so for all its entrants.

IV Special contribution of science and technology to the above requirements.

This article is concerned with the education of scientists. Their training *qua* scientists may be regarded as starting in their sixth form at school, for this is the stage at which intensive specialization begins. In the first three sections of this article the principles stated have been general, and it is time now to consider the specific problems of scientific and technical education. In doing so I must make clear that I am not dealing with the scientific education of arts students, about which could a great deal be said. In the present section I shall speak only of the extent to which scientific and technical education contributes to the requirements listed in the preceding section.

(*a*) A scientific training imparts certain techniques for dealing with a particular range of problems; for example, techniques for measurement, for precise observation, for classification, and for testing possible solutions. Together these constitute an intellectual battery of tremendous power for solving problems, theoretical or practical, which involve regular processes. The requirements of section III to which they can make an obvious positive contribution are the technical knowledge and skills of (*a*); certain technical aspects of (*b*); and some aspects of the methods of studying social structure and change under (*e*).

The practice of these techniques, however, the creative experience of putting them into action, can, in individuals who are already awake to the " great questions ", have a startling effect on their outlook and their attitude to those matters. For a certain type of personality, such as is especially likely to appear in a society with no clear system of beliefs, the experience can be quite intoxicating.

(*b*) A scientific training also imparts or reinforces certain attitudes: a valuation for objective truth of fact; for caution in accepting evidence and conclusions; and for questioning previously accepted views; perhaps also, as a concomitant, for freedom of opinion and discussion. All these are important, and they constitute a segment of (*d*) in section III.

(*c*) A scientific training also makes a special contribution to the understanding of modern society, in that it gives an inside experience of some of the technical factors which differentiate Western culture from anything else the world has seen. In this respect science makes a special contribution to the requirements under (*e*) in section III.

V Deficiencies of present scientific and technical education.

(*a*) The first is its overwhelming pre-occupation with the physical world and with sub-human life. The consequence of the one-sidedness (and I am not now thinking of the quantity of factual learning that has to be done) is that those students often remain staggeringly uneducated as regards the last two of the requirements listed in section III. Even when their interest is keen, their reading on human and social problems is likely to be extremely patchy, their understanding no more than fragmentary guesswork. Often, too, it is naïve, and based quite inappropriately on analogies derived from the fields of the physical and biological sciences. This is a dangerous defect in a society where scientists and technologists are (as we have seen) likely by sheer weight of numbers to carry more influence as time goes on. What makes the situation still more dangerous is the smug assumption of those whose experience has been exclusively at leading public schools and Oxbridge, that science students *as a whole* can get an adequate general education " on the side ".

(*b*) The second deficiency is the immensity of the syllabuses set by the examining bodies. Sometimes, of course, the syllabus is not formulated, but has to be inferred from the questions set in previous examinations. This has an appallingly constrictive effect on the life and thinking of students both of the pure sciences and of the technologists of engineering, medicine, and so on; and this not only in the universities and technical colleges but in the sixth forms of schools. It is not generally recognized how the standard of examination papers in these subjects has crept up in the last 25 years; it can give one a severe shock to compare a paper of 1953 with one of 1928. To some extent, no doubt, increasing efficiency in teaching methods and increasing familiarization with scientific results in the press will have compensated for the growth of the syllabuses. To some extent, also, the change in economic structure of the war years and the consequent accentuation of competition for university places* has masked, for the university teacher, the effects of the expansion of syllabuses. In fact, in some scientific departments examination standards have been quite deliberately raised on account of the competition in the last few years.

The first effect is to drive the learner ever more narrowly into the sheer swotting of inert ideas and desiccated facts. This is apt to be fatal to his intellectual creativeness, which only develops freely when he approaches his studies in the spirit of an explorer finding answers to questions, and where his mental diet includes enough concrete experience to make the questions real and alive to him. The teacher often finds the pressure so overwhelming that, however much he may wish to educate rather than to instruct, he finds it impossible to get the time. The process may even destroy the characteristic virtues of a scientific training, in the shape of a questioning spirit, caution in accepting evidence, and so on.

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*One university science department, for example, demands 65 per cent. marks in three subjects at Advanced level of the G.C.E. for entrance.

The second effect is to crowd out more human and general studies from the pupil's thinking. He knows that his future career depends largely on his results in the examinations, and that these rarely give much credit to general education. There is, of course, a good deal of variation from individual to individual, from school to school, from university to university, in the extent to which the crowding out is accepted or permitted; but unless the pupil is very exceptional his examination results will certainly suffer if he gives much rein to his broader interests.

A third effect, which is much accentuated by the inhumanity of the science subjects, is the temptation to those who do not mix easily with others to become still more isolated. As Elton Mayo often pointed out, the predominance of lectures *plus* factual written tests in our system of higher education tends to encourage individual isolation.

(*c*) A third deficiency in the scientist's education is the orientation of the Honours degree courses to the needs of the future university research-worker at the expense of the industrial scientist and the teacher. The industrial chemist, for example, is often put through the two or three years of intensive and exclusive chemistry required by somebody who is going to extend the borders of chemical knowledge for the rest of his life, instead of through a broader course which includes some engineering. The general Honours degree in science could be more widely used.

This defect is perhaps associated with that element in the English tradition which values " pure " science more highly than " applied ", and office jobs more highly than manual. England is the only Western country where this kind of valuation is so pronounced.

VI Practical policies.

(*a*) Various types of *voluntary* schemes are in use in universities for broadening and humanizing the scientist's education. In a number of science departments intensive discussion of the broadest issues goes on between lecturers and students over cups of tea brewed in beakers in the lab. In some universities open lectures are given by experts on the more general aspects of their subjects: a theologian will speak about Christian evidences, a physicist or biologist about the bearing of his subject on the interpretation of the universe. These lectures are generally reported to be attended by large numbers of students; but on inquiry these large numbers often turn out to represent only a tiny percentage of the student population.

Such schemes are admirable but entirely inadequate. Not only do they touch relatively few people, but they also suffer from the drawback that lectures rarely have more than a superficial influence on people's attitudes.

(*b*) Various types of *compulsory* course have been introduced. The most notable is the first-year course at North Staffordshire University College, in which freshmen learn something of the history, the values, and the problems of Western civilization. Such a radical departure from tradition would not be practical politics in other English universities. It is, however, to be hoped that a careful study is being made of the effects of the course.

Compulsory courses have been more usual in America, where perhaps the best known are those based on the study of a hundred or so " Great Books " representative of all the main stages of growth and thought of human civilization.

(*c*) Of more general promise than either of the above seem to be *courses which combine the compulsory and the voluntary principles.* In one case a university department has decreed that all its members should spend a certain period each week on discussion of subjects outside the examination course. The tutor and the group have decided between them what they will discuss; usually the talk has moved quickly into the realm of the " great questions ". When a hard-headed group has insisted that its sole interest lay in passing examinations, the leader has not found it very difficult to steer the talk from the subject of " how to pass examinations " into " why to pass examinations ", and hence to " what are we here for anyway ?".

It is highly desirable that discussion work should be an integral part of the course, with groups not above 20 in size and the organization following the seminar pattern. Only with the participation of the students in the choice of material and approach can they become personally involved or identified with the study and receptive, therefore, to the spirit which regards these problems as of direct personal importance.

On the other hand, the setting which will bring these problems alive will vary from one set of students to another, and it seems advisable that there should be a choice of subjects. One tutor, for instance, might deal with the rise of Western civilization, another with the history and philosophy of science, another with the principles of industrial management, another with the application of science to the study of society, another with the appreciation of the fine arts. It is also, in my view, a matter of the utmost importance that when a subject is stated the tutor shall regard it as a setting rather than a syllabus, a setting in which he can give life and point to the major issues already specified. The policy of treating general education in terms of set syllabuses is a mistake at a time of rapid social change, for the gulf between the generations is apt to become very great and the context in which our " great questions " are felt to be urgent by one generation may well seem quite dead to the next.

Different tutors would probably allow very different amounts of time and attention to the various questions; but, given close cooperation between tutor and students in the working out of the course, the aspects of these questions that are most real and significant for each group as a whole should draw the most attention to themselves. The characteristics of scientific method that received closest study might in one group be the methods of physics in relation to the methods of philosophy; in another the methods of social psychology as compared with those of history; in another the techniques of statistical analysis of vocabulary as compared with methods of literary appreciation and criticism; in another the difference between a scientist's and a saint's vision of reality; in another a sociologist's mode of approach to values as compared with the existentialist's.

A particularly interesting version of this system is that in force at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. There a certain amount of time is set aside for General Education throughout the four years, the first two years giving a common basic course and the last two years offering a choice among eight options. The basic course has been devised to bring to the student's notice just such perennial human questions as we have mentioned, dealt with in terms of particular historical situations but also in terms of the various major divisions of human thought: to study the political aspect, for example, of the individual's relation with his community they look at Athens, at the making of the American Constitution, at the New Deal, and at Soviet Russia. To study the emergence of new values in a community they follow the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. To study the influence of the community on the development of the individual personality they start by examining their own home communities and their own personal development, and pass on to accounts of other communities in the writings of novelists and anthropologists. The special contributions of the various disciplines of history, psychology, ethics, and so on are brought out appropriately in the different settings.

A final point: it seems to me important that the quality of the student's work in these subjects should get adequate recognition, if only in his testimonial at the end of his course.

(*d*) The above schemes refer to work within the universities and technical colleges. But the period of intensive specialization begins in *the sixth form at school,* and it is important that the non-specialist studies of the scientist and mathematician should be alive and real. At present a great deal of the time available after the Ordinary level of the G.C.E. has been done is frittered away on courses which are really no more than pedestrian, factual, Ordinary-level lessons on history, literature, French and so on.

In some schools experiments have been made in the introduction of philosophy, which is useful in so far as it helps to make the pupils alive to our " great questions ". But if it is treated as a subject with a syllabus it is probably too abstract for general use in sixth forms in our un-intellectual society. Here again it seems more promising as a principle to start from experiences and problems that have an intrinsic appeal to the pupils and to pass through them to the more abstract problems. Environmental studies by classes operating in small syndicates and looking for answers to prepared questions may often be the best way to open the pupils' eyes and minds and begin to wean them from a purely utilitarian attitude to higher education.

One of the most difficult questions for the sixth-form teacher is the form of reward or recognition to be given for general education. It is idle to say that the thing should be done solely for its own sake; the plain fact is that if the universities show no interest in the perceptiveness or the intensity of cultural interest of their entrants, then neither the teachers nor the pupils are, on average likely to rate such qualities very highly. Unfortunately the General Papers set by Oxbridge colleges for scholarship candidates, though they are taken into account more than they were before the war still bulk very little in the selection process; and in any case they are usually quite outside the range of the average candidate. The Central Advisory Council to the Ministry would do the educational world a great service if they would make a thorough study of the testing of " general education " at the sixth form level.

(*e*) Finally there is the problem of the snowball growth of the science syllabuses at the sixth-form and higher stages. This is so large a matter, and the independence of the universities so important a principle, that the only possible approach seems to be the appointment of a high-powered working-party by the Ministry of Education, in conjunction with the other interested bodies, to study the whole thing intensively.

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Spirit-Baptism in St. Mark's Gospel

By H. A. BLAIR

CONTROVERSY continues about baptism and confirmation; and, in spite of a succession of reports and articles on the subject, theologians have reached no final conclusion as to whether the Holy Spirit is given in baptism, and if so to what extent. In his recent book (*The Seal of the Spirit*) Dr. G. W. H. Lampe ransacked the Fathers, and in a comprehensive survey of their writings claimed to show that the Seal of the Spirit is given in baptism, and that the baptized Christian is indwelt by the Holy Spirit. Unfortunately there is some doubt whether all his interpretations are valid, and whether he does full justice to all the evidence of the New Testament.

Patristic evidence is of the highest importance as showing how the early Church interpreted scripture and tradition: but where the Fathers' own remarks need interpretation, they must be interpreted (on a subject such as this) either in the light of the known practice of the Church, or by reference back to the scripture which guided them. Ultimately we must have resort to Jesus Christ, whose life was the pattern not only of ethics but of theological truth. And in this article I propose to do just that: can we find in the earliest gospel a pattern of action which will be our guide?

Dr. A. M. Farrer has introduced to many of us an intricately patterned scheme in St. Mark's gospel, much of which is highly significant: this will be St. Mark's Spirit-inspired interpretation of the gospel story. Without, however, encroaching on those patterns, or on the other hand depreciating their value, we may legitimately go beyond them, and look for a significance in the historical order of events, especially in the first three or four chapters where there is no reason to doubt that St. Mark was writing chronologically. It is possible, I believe, in his gospel to see not only St. Mark's arrangement but the mind of Christ, in Christ's own deliberate acceptance of a pattern in his own life.

Two simple patterns within the first four chapters seem to be significant for our purpose.

(1) *Baptism with the Holy Ghost*

The first pattern was set out by the forerunner. In the first few verses of St. Mark's gospel we find John Baptist in the wilderness, preaching, baptizing, and receiving confession from those who came out to him:

(a) God's representative appears in a certain place.
(b) He preaches and invites.
(c) He baptizes.
(d) People come to him and confess.

Prophetic vision is a glimpse, not of the future, but of an eternal pattern. John was the last of the prophets, and followed the pattern which he saw. There is nothing surprising in the acceptance of that pattern by the Christ. Jesus worked to a pattern foreshadowed not only by the Baptist, but by the prophets of the Old Testament. He interpreted that pattern for his Church.

This pattern is repeated three times in the first two chapters of St. Mark. The only apparent omission is baptism. But John promised that his great successor would baptize, not with water but with Holy Spirit. The third element in the pattern as repeated by Jesus will therefore be not water baptism but Spirit baptism.

Too often this promise that Christ would baptize with Holy Spirit has been associated with Pentecost. But Mark gives no account of Pentecost; nor does he, like St. John, make clear and open reference to it in his gospel. Unless, then, he is a very poor story-teller (which he is not), there must surely be a fulfilment of that promise in his gospel. If, in the story of Cinderella, her godmother had promised fairy coach, gown and slippers, and the rest of the story had contained no reference to her receiving anything of the kind, we should not be satisfied by a later editor's note explaining that the promise was fulfilled in another story: we should read the story carefully to see whether she did in fact receive something which was a symbolic fulfilment: perhaps it was not intended to be taken literally. In St. Mark, then, we are looking for a fulfilment and interpretation by Jesus of John Baptist's prediction of Spirit baptism. Dr. Farrer suggests that the fulfilment is in the healing miracles (p. 45 ff).

Let us look at the three-times-repeated pattern:

(a) I, 14a,—Jesus goes to Galilee.

(b) I, 14b-20,—Jesus preaches: *the moment has arrived, the Kingdom is near.* The moment to do what?—*To repent.* How enter the Kingdom?—*Believe in the good news.* There follows the account of four men who proved their belief and their repentance by what they did.

(c) I, 21-31. Here, if anywhere, we ought to find an account of Spirit baptism. This is the third element in the pattern, the day is the sabbath, the place is the synagogue. A possessed man is constrained to make (baptismal) confession: the *unclean* spirit is purged: this is one form of Spirit baptism. But it is not the only form: Satan must be renounced, but that is not all. In Simon's house his mother-in-law is *on fire* with fever: they speak to Jesus about her, he takes her hand and quenches the fire. Spirit baptism is both exorcism and healing.

(d) I, 32-34. *The whole city* comes to him and confesses his power, bringing those who need both exorcism and healing. The demon-possessed are ready to confess him but are not allowed to do so.

After withdrawal and interrupted prayer,

(a) I, 38, Jesus goes to neighbouring villages.

(b) I, 39, he preaches in Galilæan synagogues.

(c) I, 40-44, after we have been reminded that exorcism continued we are told the story of the leper, who confessed faith in the power of Jesus to "cleanse" him: Jesus touches his hand and says "be cleansed": he is "cleansed". Indignant, either at the attitude of bystanders or at the vociferous acknowledgments of the man, Jesus sends him to the priest to make the prescribed offering for his "cleansing". Spirit baptism can wash away the profoundest form of physical uncleanness.

(d) I, 45, the open and indiscreet confession of Jesus by the healed man drives Jesus into the wilderness, where people continue to come to him.

After an unspecified time,

(a) II, 1, Jesus visits Capernaum.

(b) II, 2, crowds gather, and he speaks the word to them.

(c) II, 3-12a, a man helpless with paralysis is brought to Jesus by friends who overcome all obstacles to do so: he recognizes their efforts as in themselves a (baptismal) confession of faith, and pronounces absolution. Their faith is contrasted with the fault-finding and blasphemy of scribes (which we shall see leads on to the second pattern). The new inward life granted by absolution is shown outwardly by renewal of physical power: "Rise up", says Jesus,—and "he was raised up"—the word used of our Lord's own resurrection.

(d) II, 126, confession is made by all.

Dr. Farrer's interpretation of the healing miracles is most illuminating: in me at least his "Study in St. Mark" has sorted out a chaos of unformed ideas with which I have wrestled. I would myself differ from him in the pattern of these four miracles. As he points out, there is a parallel between the cleansing of the spirit in the demoniac, and the cleansing of the flesh in the leper; as also between the renewal of life in Simon's wife's mother, and in the paralytic. But there is also a fourfold exposition of the meaning of Christian baptism. The devil is renounced (exorcism): his fire is quenched and the body made fit for service (healing): the physical source of infection is cleared (purging): new life is given (regeneration). There is a parallel to these four stages in the ordinary medical treatment of a simple infection—for instance, an attack of boils: the patient gives up the way of life which caused them, whether overwork or overfeeding: local inflammation is treated: the blood is cleared of infection: a tonic is given to restore strength.

There is no need to attribute this pattern to Mark's own arrangement. Mark's order may have been historically faulty, as Papias supposed; but, he adds, his facts were correct. I personally believe, following Dr. Farrer, that writing under inspiration his arrangement and rhythm were significant. Whether the order of these sections, however, is chronological or not, they are self-contained units: and even if we care to suppose that Mark merely collected units of tradition and put them together into a gospel, still the pattern within the section will belong not to Mark's arrangement, not to the local congregation from which he gathered them, but to Christ himself who acted them. This needs emphasis, because we are to-day a little apt, in tracing out the pattern of an evangelist, to forget the mind of Christ.

In these three sections Jesus himself speaks to us about baptism.

There is much discussion to-day about whether the Holy Spirit is given in baptism, or whether baptism is only the earnest of the Spirit. Here we find Christ himself baptizing with Holy Spirit. But the gift is for a limited purpose. It is given to save the patient, but not yet to qualify him to save others. He must show faith, but he is not yet asked for that whole-hearted surrender which is demanded of those who are fully qualified witnesses to Christ. They must want and believe in the grace and power of Christ: they have yet to realize that the power of Christ is like an electric current—it cannot be received unless it is passed on.

The text for the baptized is perhaps St. John XIV, 17: the Spirit of truth has degrees of nearness. "He abideth *with* you and shall be *in* you." That particular text rather draws a distinction between confirmation and ordination, because the disciples to whom Christ is there speaking have passed the merely baptized stage, and have made their first response. But it establishes the principle of degrees in the receiving of the Spirit. Here we are concerned with baptism, which is the preparation of the house for the Holy Ghost, and we are looking on to the next stage which is confirmation, the first degree of possession by the same Holy Ghost.

(2) *Challenge and Response*

The second pattern is a straightforward alternation of six pairs. Each pair consists of a challenge of Jesus by his critics and a response by Jesus himself. After the fourth pair, there is an interruption: I shall suggest that this is because Mark is following the historical order of events. The two final pairs then provide an artistic but melancholy climax. The friends, and finally the family of Jesus, join the ranks of the critics. Jesus then explains to his disciples the significance of these events in a parable.

In chapter II, verses 13 and 14, Jesus goes to the sea, crowds gather, he teaches them, and calls Levi to follow. Then

(a) II, 15-16. Jesus dines with sinners and publicans: the scribes and Pharisees are shocked, and say so.

(b) II, 17. Jesus answers them with a saying.

(a) II, 18. The disciples of Jesus omit to fast: the Baptist's disciples and the Pharisees find fault.

(b) II, 19-22. Jesus answers them with a saying and two parables.

(a) II, 23-24. The disciples of Jesus pick, rub out and eat ears of corn on the sabbath: the Pharisees find fault.

(b) II, 25-28. Jesus answers with an analogy from Scripture and two sayings.

(a) III, 1-2. Jesus intends to heal on the sabbath: the Pharisees intend to find fault.

(b) III, 3-6. Jesus answers their intention with an unanswerable question, and carries out his own intention to heal. The Pharisees make an unholy alliance with the Herodians.

In these four pairs there is a development, and our feelings react as we read. It is human enough for the respectable scribes to be shocked at the company Jesus kept: the saying which answers them is gentle. We are next a little surprised to find the Baptist's disciples turned critics with the Pharisees, but we can understand their feeling about fasting: the answer is still gentle, though the parables imply shortcomings in Jewish legalism. The third time, the fault-finding of the Pharisees is frankly trivial: rubbing corn in the hands is equivalent to threshing, and is forbidden on the sabbath: our Lord's analogy from scripture and the sayings are challenging. The fourth time we feel no kind of sympathy with the Pharisees: the trap which they set is contemptible, and their alliance with the Herodians is quite unscrupulous.

Then follows the interruption. We have read of four misunderstandings of the gospel. We now read a slightly distorted version of the preaching-baptism-confession pattern. Jesus goes to the sea again, and crowds follow him from all sides: he would like to preach to them but he cannot—they have become so demanding: he heals many, but the crowd becomes out of hand, and he has to ask for a boat to be ready in case he should be pushed into the sea — and still there is no mention of teaching or preaching: demoniacs grovel before him and loudly make confession that he is the Son of God—but that is not the kind of confession that Jesus wants, and he continues to rebuke them. It is a picture of violent men, who will if they can take the Kingdom by force (III, 7-12). We are reminded of Moses, hard pressed by complainants and warned by his father-in-law to delegate authority before he becomes worn out.

Moses chose seventy elders (or seventy-two) according to the number of the nations, and gave them authority. Jesus chose twelve, and commissioned them with the authority which was his, to preach and exorcize, according to the number of the tribes of Israel. It was a new gift of the Spirit, given so that they might save others as well as themselves. The number twelve is the *chosen* number. The apostles were the Church, the elect, chosen so that through them the world should be saved; and they received a gift quite distinct from Spirit baptism. It was, if we will, confirmation, full membership of the Church—a true ministry but still a lay ministry; ordination was to follow, after the Resurrection, perhaps, at least not yet. Three of the twelve received new names; *the Rock* stood for solid reliability; *Sons of Thunder* stood for dynamic power. In this way, Jesus, like Moses, provided for the second stage of Christian life (III, 13-19).

The pattern of challenge and response then continues:

(a) III, 20-22. Jesus goes into a house, and he and his disciples are overrun again by crowds. His friends call his behaviour madness: his critics, scribes from Jerusalem, call it something worse. The spirit which inspires Jesus, they say, is the Prince of evil himself.

(b) III, 23-30. Jesus answers with clear reasoning, with the parable of the strong man, and finally condemns, not those who have called him mad and criticized *him,* but those who acknowledge the Spirit only to blaspheme It.

(a) III, 31-32. Last of all his mother and his brethren try to get him away, and thus join his critics.

(b) III, 33-35. Jesus answers with a saying: family allegiance comes second to Church allegiance: so he adopts a new and larger family, of those who accept God's will.

Here is a pattern which shows that no unconsecrated affection, however devoted, can take the place of surrender to God's will—which is the full Christian response and Spirit-inspired. What is the full response? The two interrupting sections show first what it is not, and then what it is. It is not in baptismal confession—even the confession of Spirit baptism. In that unruly crowd many had faith enough to be healed and many were exorcized: they experienced Spirit baptism. But they could not make the full response; they were only full of the desire to be saved themselves. The full response came from those who had been called and had answered. They had not left the world, but they had learnt the true centre of life: they had learnt to put first things first: and they received the second gift of the Spirit, that through them the world might be saved.

We are still left wondering why the accounts of the unruly crowd and the choice of the apostles come where they do. Artistically they would have made a good climax to the six-times repeated challenge and response. The best reason is that the two accounts come there, because that is the order in which things happened. Mark is following the historical order. The unruly crowd created an emergency: Jesus met the emergency by delegating his authority, as Moses had done before him, and creating a Church.

The first four pairs are in a natural sequence, though there were clearly intervals of time between some of them. Luke, who claims to write *in order*, follows the same sequence (Lk. V, 27-VI, 11). The withdrawal to the sea follows naturally from the conspiracy of the Pharisees and Herodians to destroy Jesus (Mk. III, 6, 7). The unruly crowd by the seaside caused his further withdrawal to a mountain, and the choice of the twelve. On his return, Jesus was again beseiged by a crowd—this time, in a house—so that "they" were not able to eat: the newly-appointed twelve were now busy with their Master, therefore the plural number. His friends, alarmed for his safety and sanity, attempted a rescue. Finally his mother and his brethren arrived in a climax of fussy misunderstanding.

It all makes good historical sense, and the burden of proof lies upon the one who would claim that it is an *arranged* order, and not historical. If it is historical, then the pattern carries the eternal significance of the Incarnation. It beats out the rhythm which is always heard when God enters human history. And the lesson of the pattern is not a lesson which an inspired Mark was trying to teach the Church, but the lesson taught by God himself in Christ. In it God meets three types of men: the unconverted, some reckoned as good and some as bad in human terms: the half-converted, Spirit-washed but still self-centred: the converted, still imperfect, but who have made their full surrender to the gospel.

It becomes clear from this what Spirit baptism is, and what it is not. Spirit baptism is given to all who ask in faith. There is no excuse for " rigorism " in administering baptism, but every reason for it in confirmation. What the minister is to demand for baptism is a genuine belief that the power of the Spirit will be received, however ill the Spirit may be understood. But confirmation demands a full response: in it and after it, Christ is to be met in person—and God in Christ. Those who seek baptism may seek it with very imperfect motives, and yet receive it—as the crowds by the seaside received exorcism and healing: confirmation demands surrender. It is true that the two were most often received together in the early Church, so that Peter can speak of baptism as covering both (" the answer of a good conscience to God " I Pet. III, 21). But the visit of Peter and John to Samaria (Acts VIII, 4-17) makes it clear that the two things were distinct from the earliest days.

" But Jesus does not say all this, and there may be other interpretations of his actions." If he does not say it, he says something very like it, in the parable of the sower which follows at once (IV, 3-20). The seed is the word, and the word is a seed. It falls. There are those so hard that it cannot even lodge: the unconverted. But if the ground is soft enough it lodges, and where it lodges it grows: germination is baptism—we are buried and risen again with Christ. In shallow or weed-infested soil it grows but bears no seed of its own; nothing can be propagated from it again: these are the half-converted, the baptized, who have not yet made their full response. One is driven to reflect how many, through lack of " rigorism " before confirmation, remain in these categories, though nominally full members of the Church. But that on the good ground bears new seed, some more, some less: for even the fully converted Christian " counts not himself to have attained ".

So, to sum up. Unconverted goodness and devotion are wholly unserviceable for the Kingdom. Spirit baptism (which is Christian baptism) is a first step: its condition is faith, and by it God speaks to man and puts him in the way of salvation. At some point on that way, here or hereafter, the Christian must inevitably meet Christ, and make his answer to the Word which God has spoken. Either he will meet him here, and answer; or he will meet him hereafter and discover that his way of life has been his answer.

Anglican Societies

By LEONARD W. COWIE

SYDNEY SMITH once remarked that Macaulay had 'occasional flashes of silence, that make his conversation perfectly delightful'. Historians of the Church of England have been guilty of their own 'occasional flashes of silence', periods which they have condemned out of hand or passed over lightly, and it is not without interest to inquire what has led them to do this. Is it, for instance, a sign of increasing tractarian influence that, until recently, the history of the Church of England in the eighteenth century—'that miserable century', Newman called it—should have been of little interest to Anglican historians?

However that may be, we are more ready to pay fair attention to the eighteenth century nowadays, and a number of studies have shown us that we cannot ignore this period if we wish to understand the story of the Church of England. Two such studies, in the form of biographies, have appeared this year—*Thomas Bray* by H. P. Thompson (S.P.C.K., 12s. 6d.), and *Joshua Watson* by A. B. Webster (S.P.C.K., 15s.). Though the subjects of these books come at different ends of the century—Bray lived from 1658 to 1729 and Watson from 1771 to 1855—they have much in common. Both were important in their time in the Church; both have since been allowed to sink into obscurity. Above all, both men were concerned in a uniquely important part of the life of the Church of England—its societies. Perhaps the position of these societies in the Church is rarely understood. A Nonconformist who described them as 'societies affiliated to the Church' was hardly accurate, any more than the Anglican who termed them 'quasi-peculiars'. Only in terms of their origins can these societies be fully understood, but in consequence of the neglect of eighteenth century history, this is only being done now; and these two biographies do much to fill in the picture.

When Dr Bray was ordained in 1681, the Church of England was experiencing that religious revival which began after the

Restoration of 1660 and continued into the ' Indian summer of the High Church movement ' in Anne's reign. In the official machinery of the Church this found expression, for instance, in the Commission for Building Fifty Churches in London, but the replacement, for practical purposes, of the royal supremacy by a parliamentary supremacy, meant that more and more had to be done by private individuals. Soon after the Restoration, several London clergy formed ' Religious Societies ' to encourage Churchmen to fulfil the religious and charitable duties. These were soon established all over the country, and were joined by ' Societies for the Reformation of Manners ' to secure the enforcement of the laws against immorality and profanity. The supporters of this movement stressed, for members of the societies and others, the need for regular worship and doctrinal instruction; and the Rector of Sheldon, Bray published in 1690 his ' Catcheticall Lectures ', which gained him immediate fame. It led Henry Compton, Bishop of London, to appoint Bray his commissary in Maryland, which had lately been divided into parishes.

Bray spent only three months in Maryland in 1700, but his appointment led him to his life's work. Most of the clergy in Maryland were too poor to buy books, and he decided to found a society to provide them with libraries. He then came to realize that many English clergy were similarly placed, and so his scheme was extended to establish parochial libraries in England. Out of this came the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which he took a prominent part in founding in 1699 to propagate Christian teaching through such means as books and pamphlets and charity schools. This was followed, again largely through his efforts, by the foundation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1701 to maintain chaplains and missionaries in the English plantations. The S.P.G. had a royal charter and rather more official standing than the S.P.C.K., but both had essentially the same position as the earlier ' religious societies '. They owed their origin to a small group of clergy and laymen under the leadership of Dr Bray, who secured no higher preferment in the Church than a London parish.

During the forty years between the death of Bray and the birth of Watson the ' societies ' of the Methodist revival eventually broke away from the Church: but Watson's life shows a further development of societies within the Church to meet the needs of the time. Watson was a layman, a member of the pre-tractarian High Church group known as the Hackney Phalanx. Until 1814 he was a London wine-merchant, when he retired to devote himself to the service of the Church. He became an active member of most of the Church societies, new and old. From 1811 to 1842 he was first treasurer of the National Society, founded to provide Church schools for the poor; he was a leading member of the Incorporated Church Building Society, founded in 1818 to build new churches for the growing population. The position of these societies in the Church was very much like those of Dr Bray; but now a new factor was emerging. Bray had been able to secure the co-operation of all Churchmen in his societies. The Church Pastoral Aid Society, dominated by the Evangelicals, laid down doctrinal tests for the curates it assisted and employed lay workers, so Watson and his friends formed the Additional Curates Society in 1837; and there was a similar division between the Church Missionary Society and the S.P.G. Another feature of the Church of England had arisen—the society whose work is to be done in accordance with the doctrines of one of the parties in the Church.

Clearly the Church of England owes much to its societies and the clergy and laymen who have served in them. The administrative reformation of the Church, in which Watson took an early part, has inevitably affected their position; but as yet there is no sign of their extinction. Indeed, only last year the National Society was separated from the Council for Education to enable it to serve the Anglican communion better. Centralization and administrative control tend to discourage individual initiative, and it is to be hoped that the societies will long enable the Church to be served by enterprising clergy and laymen like Bray and Watson.

The publication of these two lives certainly enables us to understand the historical development of the Anglican societies. They deal also with other aspects of the two men—for instance, Dr Bray's work as a parish priest and his connection with the founding of Georgia or Joshua Watson's part in organizing large-scale relief in Germany after the Napoleonic wars and his friendly criticism of the early tractarian movement. Altogether they are both competent, imaginative biographies and provide a valuable addition to our knowledge of a too-often neglected period of English Church history. By way of criticism it should be said that Mr. Thompson's footnotes do not always give complete references for his statements of fact, while Mr. Webster's ' short bibliography ' could with advantage appear without a number of general printed works to which he has made only incidental reference.

Cranmer and the Liturgy of 1552

By E. C. E. BOURNE

CRANMER'S purpose in his revision of the Communion Service in 1552 has long been a matter of controversy. The Rev. F. C. Long, in his article " Transubstantiation and Sacrifice ", (C.Q.R., July-September) says that " The present order is only intelligible as a Eucharist, a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, by dwelling on the essential oneness of the whole rite from the Offertory to the Prayer of Oblation, and supposing that what was omitted in its proper place has been stuck in later as an afterthought ". The object of this article is to suggest that so far from omitting things from their proper place and sticking them in as afterthoughts, Cranmer's primary design was to ensure that the rite in all its parts should be regarded as one continuous whole.

It would be misleading to consider Cranmer's liturgical writing in isolation from his doctrinal beliefs. That subject, however, is so complex that it is necessary to confine oneself to certain conclusions, without going into detail about the grounds on which they are based. A study of his writings seems to suggest that he was more clear about what he denied than about what he affirmed. The two beliefs which he was most concerned to refute were those of Transubstantiation and the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass, as these were commonly understood at the time. With regard to the first, his aim, paradoxical though it may seem, was much the same as that of St. Thomas Aquinas. The purpose of Aquinas was to formulate the doctrine with precision, in such a way that the crude and gross ideas then current should be ruled out. These ideas may be typified by the belief, attributed to Lanfranc, that the accidents of bread and wine remain only as a concession to human squeamishness, " lest by the sight of raw and bloody flesh men may abhor to eat." Against this, Aquinas asserts that the change is one of " substance " in the precise philosophical sense; in other words, that the change is metaphysical rather than physical. The elements are changed, not into the physical structure of flesh and bone, but into the virtue and power of Christ's risen life.

That was all very well for those versed in the niceties of scholastic terminology; but to the ordinary worshipper " substance ", then as now, meant nothing more or less than the solid physical stuff which he could touch and see. Gardiner, in his reply to Cranmer, has an amusing passage in which he describes the efforts of a philosopher to explain to a labourer in an ale-house the difference between the " substance " and the " accidents " of the bread and cheese on the table before them. It ends with the labourer saying that the teacher is welcome to the all-important substance, as long as he himself is allowed to keep the accidents. How far the theologians themselves really understood the words they used is a difficult question to answer; one often has an uncomfortable feeling that they are repeating an accustomed formula of words without asking themselves what they really mean, just as to-day the word " sacrifice " is more often used than clearly defined. But what is quite certain is that to the vast majority of Christians, " Transubstantiation " meant quite simply that by the Words of Consecration the priest changed the bread and wine into the physical, corporeal substance of our Lord's body and blood. Thus there arose those arguments, condemned in a proclamation of Edward VI, as to whether Christ's fingers and toes and so on were contained in the Host. The common belief was, in fact, not so much Transubstantiation as " Transaccidentation ".

Now Cranmer was far more concerned with the beliefs of ordinary men and women than with the arguments of theologians; and it was these popular superstitions that he was at pains to refute. Like Aquinas, he held that the Presence of Christ was spiritual rather than physical. That, of course, does not mean that the Presence is not real, unless one is to hold that the spiritual is unreal. He does, indeed, avoid the *word* real, because he knows that it tends to connote " corporeal "; instead, he says that Christ's body is " verily " or " truly " present, not in the elements, but in effect and operation. The bread and wine are not the body and blood, but the " sacrament " of the body and blood, the outward and visible signs which, remaining in their own substance, are yet the means whereby the inner and spiritual life and power of Christ are mediated.[1] Cranmer is more concerned with what God gives than with how he gives it, and he is vague about the precise function of the elements in the whole action; but he is convinced that there is an objective gift of God. Jewel, a few years later, put what is essentially the same thought much more clearly. It is like reading a book. The essential thing about it is that the idea in the mind of the author is transmitted to that of the reader. The physical apparatus of ink and paper is used to effect this; yet they have no power in themselves, and it is only in a highly metaphorical sense that the idea can be said to be " in " them. In addition, a knowledge of reading is necessary if the idea is to be transmitted; yet that does not mean that the knowledge of reading creates the idea. In much the same way the faith of the recipient is a necessary condition of his receiving the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist.

It is faith also which is the key to Cranmer's conception of the Eucharistic sacrifice. His position can be hardly better put than in Mr. F. C. Long's words. A true sacrifice is " nothing other than the surrender of oneself to God to be changed by him and made fit for his purpose." Over against this there is the false idea, when a man " refuses to be ' reconciled to God,' and demands that God be reconciled to him by abating his demands and accepting something less costly than self-surrender. Whether man merely holds back part, or puts the outward observances of religion . . . in place of obedience and righteousness, or employs someone who claims to have a ' pull ' in the heavenly courts to obtain preferential treatment for him, he in one way or other tenders to God a *substitute* for the true sacrifice God demands."

This precisely describes the grounds of Cranmer's objection to the doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass current in his day. It was regarded as something done by the priest for the people, instead of something done by the people through the priest. The common view, to put it crudely but accurately, was " So many Masses, so many years off Purgatory ". We are justified by the Masses we hear, or have said for us, the pilgrimages we make, the penances we perform, and so on. Against this, Cranmer insists that we are justified by faith alone. Faith to him is not an act, or series of acts, but a state. It is self-surrender, the turning of the whole personality in repentence and love towards God. It does not imply perfection all at once; even though a man is set on the right road, he still stumbles and limps and needs help in his progress towards his goal. In the Eucharist, God has promised that help. It is a divinely appointed means of strengthening and deepening faith, though the faith has to be there before it is strengthened and deepened. The sacrifice of the Eucharist is a sacrifice of self-oblation, in union with the oblation of Christ. " Here we offer and present unto thee ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee."

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[1] It is to be noted that Cranmer normally uses the word " Sacrament " to describe the " outward and visible sign " *only*, whereas to us it usually includes the " inward and spiritual grace " also. It is in this restricted sense that Transubstantiation " overthroweth the nature of a sacrament " by doing away with the outward and visible sign.

It was views such as these which formed the background of Cranmer's liturgical work. In the Prayer-book of 1549 he had two main aims. One, the less important, was negative—to guard against the current false ideas of the Presence and the Sacrifice. The other was positive—to regain the true idea of sacrifice as self-oblation. This he aimed at doing by restoring the communion of the people to its ancient place as an essential part of the rite, since it is in the Communion that we make our self-oblation.

How was this to be done ? In the first place, he made it a rule that there should be no celebration of the Eucharist unless there were some to communicate with the priest. Secondly, he altered the balance of the service. Previously there had been one focal point, the Consecration, with its attendent Elevation. Now he added another. The Canon remained, at least in its general outline, as it had been before: the Intercession, with its thanksgiving for the Saints and its commendation of the Faithful Departed: the commemoration of the Passion, and the Words of Institution: the Prayer of Oblation, and the Lord's Prayer. But after this there followed the " Order of Communion " which had been brought out in the previous year, consisting of the General Confession and Absolution, the Comfortable Words, the Prayer of Humble Access, and the administration of the Sacrament to the communicants, who had come up into the chancel for that purpose at the time of the Offertory. During the communion of the people, the *Agnus Dei* was to be sung; and the service ended with the Prayer of Thanksgiving and the Blessing.

The service is an admirable liturgical expression of the doctrine which we have outlined. The obvious question which arises, however, is why, if this is so, was it so drastically revised in 1552. The most usual answer is that Cranmer in the meantime had come more and more under the influence of the more extreme Continental reformers, and revised the Liturgy in accordance with their views. Dom Gregory Dix, for example, held that " The Anglican rite [of 1552] was framed with exquisite skill " to express the extreme Zwinglian doctrine of the Eucharist. Having assumed that Cranmer was a Zwinglian in his own sense of the word (which goes a good deal beyond Zwingli's), Dom Gregory analysed the whole service minutely, in order to show that it could bear no other interpretation. The trouble about his argument is that it involves holding that Cranmer did not mean what he said when he denied, not once but repeatedly, that he regarded the Sacrament as a " bare and naked figure ", which is the essence of Zwinglianism as Dom Gregory conceives it.

But another explanation is possible. The Prayer-book of 1549 was designed to produce a revolutionary change in two directions. It was in the mother tongue, and it restored the communion of the people to its ancient status. These things were not really new, in that they were a return to primitive practice, if not to primitive forms. But they seemed new to the worshippers; and English people do not take kindly to novelty in worship. Doctrinally, Gardiner showed by an intellectual *tour de force* that the new service could be interpreted in the old way. But there is evidence also to show that in practice also the new Communion was used in the same way as the old Mass.

It is fairly easy to imagine what the effect of the changes would be in the average parish church. The novelty of the English service would not be apparent as long as the celebrant kept his voice low. The practice of intending communicants coming up into the chancel to make their offerings, and staying there for the rest of the service, seemed to the conservative Cornishmen " like a Christmas game "; but in fact it seems that very few came. It was easy enough to get round the regulations. If the busybodies in London said there was to be no Mass without communicants, it was always possible to get one or two to go, even if it meant paying a small fee; and the rest of the congregation could go on as before. So Bucer, writing to Hooper in 1550, says that " the Lord's Supper is in many places celebrated as a mass, from which the people know not that it in any thing differeth, but that it is celebrated in the mother tongue.

and some one hired for money receiveth the sacrament." The climax, as before, was the Consecration, and the " Order of Communion " was regarded as an eccentric addition, to which no one need pay any attention.

It is in the light of all this that the changes of 1552 must be judged. The moderate revision of 1549, whatever may have been its liturgical merits, had shipwrecked upon the innate conservatism of the English people, and more drastic steps were needed. In the first place Cranmer, by what we can see now was an error of judgement, tried to ensure more frequent communion by discouraging non-communicating attendance. He held the sacrament in too much awe to forbid this altogether, as is shown by one of his answers to the Cornish rebels; but in one of the Exhortations he spoke very strongly against it:

> Whereas ye offend God so sore in refusing this holy Banquet, I admonish, exhort, and beseech you, that unto this unkindness ye will not add any more. Which thing ye shall do, if ye stand by as gazers and lookers on them that communicate, and be no partakers of the same yourselves. . . . What will this be else but a neglecting, a depising, and mocking of the Testament of Christ? Wherefore, rather than you should so do, depart you hence and give place to them that be godly disposed.

He then proceeded to reshape the service in such a way that the Communion, instead of being a mere afterthought, became an integral part of the Canon. Instead of having two focal points, of Consecration and Communion, the two were to be welded together into one. Our Lord's words of instituting were to be followed immediately by his deed in distributing the Sacrament, the whole forming one continuous action. This involved other changes. The Canon of 1549 was already long enough to impose a considerable strain on the concentration of the worshippers, if they were to indulge in the novel activity of following what the priest was doing. If the Communion and Thanksgiving were to follow without a break, the whole would be unwieldy. So, to begin with, the Intercession was separated from the Canon, and placed by itself as an introduction. This was intended for communicants and non-communicants alike, so the reference to " this congregation which is here assembled in thy name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious death of thy son " is omitted. The thanksgiving for the saints and the commendation of the departed also go, an omission which is regrettable to us but understandable in the light of the popular thought and practice of the time. Then follow two general exhortations, to more frequent and more carefully prepared communion, to be used " at certain times ", at the discretion of the curate.

The rest of the service is addressed exclusively to the intending communicants. It begins with the Long Exhortation, which illustrates clearly Cranmer's reverence and awe for the Sacrament. Those who " truly and earnestly repent of their sins " are then bidden to " draw near with faith, and receive the holy Sacrament to their comfort." There is no reference to their actually coming up into the chancel, because the holy table may be either there or in the nave; but it is assumed that the congregation will be gathered round, ready to receive the Sacrament without further movement or delay. Having made a general confession, and received absolution, and the assurance of God's willingness to forgive the penitent, in the Comfortable Words, the congregation can dare to " Lift up their hearts " in praise and adoration, " with angels and archangels and with all the company of heaven," in the *Sanctus*. The Prayer of Humble Access, which follows, may seem at first sight to interrupt the action, which might more logically go straight on from the *Sanctus* to the Prayer of Consecration. But Cranmer was less concerned with strict logic than with devotion; and with superb dramatic skill he prepares for his climax by a momentary lowering of tension before it. It is natural for the priest to make an act of devotion before proceeding to the Consecration. But the whole congregation has an active part to play, so Cranmer typically makes the devotions corporate instead of private.

What follows is one continuous unbroken action. It is significant that the *Amen* which in our Prayer-book follows the Words of Institution (and to which the Laudian clergy of the next century attached so much importance) does not occur in 1552. A break at that point, in fact, completely obscures Cranmer's intention. The priest recalls the one sacrifice of Christ, of which the Eucharist is the representation. He prays that by God's grace we may receive not only the " sacrament " (that is, the outward and visible signs, "the creatures of bread and wine "), but also what Ridley called the " Thing " of the sacrament, the inner and spiritual partaking of the body and blood of Christ, the receiving of Christ's life and power and being made one with him, which is the purpose of the whole act. Christ's words in instituting the Eucharist are recited, and immediately his action in distributing it follows. The words which accompany the distribution are changed, less, it may be suggested, for theological than for practical reasons. There are two sides to the action: what God does in giving, and what man does in receiving. The prayer is concerned with God's activity, the distribution with man's; and the distinction is marked in the wording.

Having taken part in the family meal, we join together in the family prayer; and then the meaning of the whole is summed up in either the Prayer of Oblation or the Prayer of Thanksgiving. Cranmer has been criticized for making these alternatives; but it is difficult, from a practical point of view, to see what else he could have done. The ideas of self-oblation and of incorporation into the mystical Body of Christ are both contained in the Eucharist; but it would have taxed even Cranmer's liturgical skill to combine them both in one prayer without making the service unwieldy. Nor can the ordinary worshipper be expected to concentrate on every aspect of the Eucharist at every service; so, in deference to human limitations, one aspect or the other is to be singled out. Finally, in an inspired flash of genius, the *Gloria in Excelsis* is transposed here from the beginning of the service to act as a closing corporate act of praise and thanksgiving; and " The Peace of God, which passeth all understanding " comes, like the " dying fall " beloved of sixteenth-century musicians, to bring the action to a quiet close.

All this is speculation; but so every attempt to reconstruct the intention of a long-dead writer must be. Yet some advantages may be claimed for the interpretation here given. It fits in, not only with Cranmer's writings, but also with his character. He was a rarity among the theologians of his age in not being convinced of his own infallibility; and the picture of him sitting down deliberately to compile a liturgy which would impose his own particular doctrine of the Eucharist upon the Church as a whole is not convincing in the light of his other actions. It is far more likely that his aim was primarily practical and devotional, and only secondarily theological. In compiling the Liturgy, the question he asked was not so much " How shall I give liturgical expression to my theological beliefs?" as " What is needed to supply the devotional needs and to eradicate the devotional errors of the people?"

To the success of his answer, habitual communicants for four hundred years can bear witness. The Prayer-book, above all other books, cannot be understood apart from its historical setting. It was designed for popular use, not for specialist study, and at a time when popular thought and devotion were a prey to the grossest superstitions and errors. The miracle is not that it should bear the stamp of its age, but that so little change is needed to make it supply the needs of our own.

CORRESPONDENCE

TRANSUBSTANTIATION AND SACRIFICE

SIR,—The article by F. C. Long on the above subject is quite admirable until the last paragraph is reached.

The subject is one incapable of exact philosophical definition, philosophy being the handmaid rather than the master of theology; and sacramentalism being a divinely-appointed *modus operandi,* as Mascall has adumbrated in *Corpus Christi.*

We are accordingly grateful to Mr. Long for his integration of Old Testament sacrifice, the Last Supper and the Eucharist, especially in their corporate aspect. But, in contrast with his previous clear reasoning, his final thoughts not only hang in the air but cloud it.

Fallen human nature demands that at every stage there shall be ‘ a renewal of penitence ’, when we contrast the deficiencies of ‘ ourselves, our souls and bodies ’ as a sacrifice, with the fullness of the Perfect Sacrifice of Our Lord. And it is right that we should renew penitence even after the reception of the Sacrament, as directed by the Prayer of Oblation in the position appointed for it in the 1662 Book, unless the ‘ “ accidents ” of life and conduct and character ’ have in fact become those of membership, sinless and self-forgetful, of the Body of Christ. And would even the saints claim this?

This aspect is emphasised by the place of the General Confession *after* the Offertory and Intercession; and by the Prayer of Humble Approach *after* the Sursum Corda and Sanctus.

The glory of our Prayer Book Liturgy is that at every stage it contrasts our lack of presumption in our own righteousness with God’s manifold and great mercies. It is opposed both to Pelogianism and to Cloud Cuckoo land.

There is one improvement that might be made in the structure of the 1662 Eucharist: the substitution of ‘ and ’ for ‘ or ’ between the Prayer of Oblation and the Prayer of Thanksgiving; and perhaps the direction that the former shall be said by people as well as priest.

It would be admirable if Mr. Long were to work out the implications of his altogether inspiring and original thoughts on the meaning of the Eucharist with regard to our extant Prayer Book order. And let him take fallen human nature into account. Perhaps then he will see that our Eucharist is ‘ a service of preparation ’ indeed, but only for the perfect worship of heaven.

Yours faithfully,
R. L. SHARP.

REVIEWS

A Reconciliation

A Review by D. M. MACKINNON

CHRISTIANITY IN AN AGE OF SCIENCE. By C. A. COULSON. Riddell Memorial Lectures. 25th Series. Oxford University Press. 5s.

PROFESSOR Coulson's Riddell lectures represent a remarkable intellectual achievement. The author's distinction as a physicist entitles his discussion of the nature of scientific knowledge to serious attention; but the reader of these lectures will also be impressed by the width of philosophical and literary culture they display.

Like Einstein himself, Professor Coulson's approach to the problem of our knowldge of the external world is near Kantian. For him Kant's insistence that fact is somehow the product of language and reality is decisive, even though, of course, with Dr. Waismann whom he quotes, Coulson would repudiate any suggestion that Kant's table of categories had the sort of finality its author claimed for it. But the ' Copernican revolution ' conditions Coulson's approach, and undoubtedly encourages a certain sympathy in his method with the styles of philosophical idealism.

If he does not offer a developed coherence theory of truth, the notion of ' coherence ' plays from the outset a crucial rôle in these lectures. The problem of the relations of religion and science is presented as one of the reconciliation of different types of experience, types of experience which cannot simply be allowed to fall apart because their subject-matter and their idiom alike overlap and interweave. The poet, the master of the spiritual life, the mathematical physicist whose appreciation of a theory is partly aesthetic, are not writing or speaking in dialects without relation one with another: their experiences, shaped and fashioned by language as they are, have something in common, and it is indeed for that reason that their claims to disclose the ultimate compete.

So Coulson sees the problem of religion and science as one of reconciliation of idioms and attitudes. In his second lecture he attacks it by way of an elaborate analogy: the question in what does the *reality* of Ben Nevis consist. Who gets at that reality: the rock-climber on the hard North face, the walker making the easy ascent from Fort William, the artist realizing the gestalt of the Ben in oils or water-colour? The analogy is well-conceived and interestingly worked-out: in the author's mind it seems to prepare the way for a brief and pregnant reference to Kant's dualism of theoretical and practical, interpreted in terms of the opposition of spectator and agent. But some readers of his lectures may argue that Professor Coulson's unusually wide reading in the field of his subject is allowed to distract him from a clear pointing of the moral of his analogy in respect of his fundamental problem of reconciliation.

Yet if there is something to regret here, it remains that in these few pages the reader will find an absolutely first-rate introduction to the whole field of the contemporary debate between religion and science. Nothing is left out: and one may hope that the Churches may take note of Coulson's reproach to them in respect of their failure adequately to notice the moral predicament of scientists to-day, who in Oppenheimer's words, ' have known original sin '. If I call the lectures an introduction I would insist at the same time that they must be read with the greatest care; for the problems with which they deal touch the deepest levels of our consciousness. Coulson knows them too well to conceal from the careful reader the fact that the more clearly the issues are stated, the sharper in some ways the chasm disclosed. It is the clear implication of his strangely tender concluding paragraphs that the way of endurance is assured only to those who accept the necessity of a certain spiritual discipline. The coherence of which the lectures speak must sometimes be a matter of hope rather than of enjoyment, the name of an intellectual duty rather than a matter of precise exposition. It is the achievement of these lectures that they succeed in saying so much that is both clear and searching, on the deep content of that continuing imperative.

AN URGENT ISSUE

AUTHORITY AND FREEDOM. Hulsean Lectures for 1952. By R. H. THOULESS. Hodder and Stoughton, London. 8s. 6d.

As the subsidiary title of this short but lucid work suggests, it deals with 'some psychological problems of religious belief.' Dr. Thouless, as an eminent psychologist and as a practising member of the Church of England, is admirably qualified to speak on the subject. This book is bound to be of interest to clergymen and laymen honestly concerned about the present state of religion, and of organized religion in particular. Dr. Thouless's frankness is shown at the outset in the preface, where he states that he accepts the statement in Article XIX: 'As the Church of *Jerusalem*, *Alexandria,* and *Antioch,* have erred; so also the Church of *Rome* hath erred'; and he adds:

> This, I think, carries the implication that so also may the Church of England have erred, and I do not regard loyalty to the Church of England as requiring that her members should refrain from criticising her present position but rather that they should ask whether there are not changes in her doctrinal position which would more fully express her essential spirit.

The book attempts to answer three questions: 'first, is there now a decline in religious conviction? secondly, is it possible for a reasonable modern man to accept a religious system of thought? and thirdly, are there respects in which religious ideas are presented to modern man which unnecessarily increase his difficulty of acceptance?' Dr. Thouless answers 'yes' to each question.

The decline of religious belief in contemporary society is a fact. Dr. Thouless surveys the social and intellectual movements of the last one hundred years which have led up to this state of things. He notes in passing how many parents, having abandoned religion themselves, nevertheless 'send their children to Sunday school and to church because they think that the acquiring of religious ideas will make them better citizens'. Likewise there is the widespread attempt

> to teach religion to delinquents in approved schools in order to make them better citizens, or to encourage the neurotic to accept a religious system of belief as a means to mental health. But this is to treat religion as a means and not as itself an end. 'God' is not the name of a conceptual device for securing good citizenship and mental health.

This needs to be said, though perhaps Dr. Thouless overstates his case; for it is true of religion itself that it is known by its fruits.

In discussing whether dogma is an obstacle to faith the author turns to something more urgent. Wisely he spends little time on the allegation that Christianity needs 'translation into modern terms'. The trouble with this would be first that the translation would have to be made almost every generation, second that the new language would not necessarily be the best language, and third that a new religious vocabulary lacks the numinous appeal of one that has behind it a spontaneous growth and centuries of devotion. The really important thing is that 'clearly to understand the doctrines of religion one must be prepared to use the language in which they are stated. To treat as literal description what is metaphorical (or symbolic) is to misunderstand religious dogma basically'. Dr. Thouless thinks, however, that the formulation of religious truths in well-defined terms is less important than might be supposed. Theologians and ecclesiastics should take to heart his dictum that 'the whole intellectual activity of making heresies and making creeds can be regarded as a typical expression of a deep-seated psychological tendency to impose order on our experiences by making theories about them'. We might add 'and to impose these theories on other people'. There is a pathetic instance of this in the proposals for revision of canon-law at the present time—pathetic because the imposition will be impotent. The layman is, on the whole, ahead of the ecclesiastic in his reading of the contemporary spiritual barometer.

Dr. Thouless devotes a whole chapter to persecutions and intolerance in religion. Like so many discerning minds today he looks far afield, and comments how favourably Hinduism compares in this respect with Christianity. He pleads for diversity in unity, and regards the Church of England, with its tradition of comprehensiveness, as having a special part to play in the Christianity of the future. We would qualify this optimism by saying that this special part can be played only if the tradition of comprehensiveness is preserved. There are alarming signs of bureaucratic regimentation, which, if allowed to grow, will do Anglicanism irreparable harm.

In his chapter on the religious goal Dr. Thouless's comparison of doctrine with a map for use on a journey is particularly valuable. 'The acceptance of orthodoxy as a substitute goal of the religious journey may be regarded as analogous to the case of a man who forgets that his map is a means to getting somewhere and supposes that belief in the correctness of the map is an end in itself'. Likewise, in his chapter on religious language he has many very helpful things to say to those who find difficulty in accepting religious symbolism as true. Sometimes, if they can be brought to see it, it is the moderns who are at fault. As Dr. Thouless suggests, 'the confusion between metaphor and literal statement is not a characteristic of early Christian thought, but rather of modern times. The language of metaphor is no longer natural to us'. The modern inqurer should also be reminded that the 'element of agnosticism in the thought of the systematizers and creed-makers has been lost sight of during the last few centuries. . . . The creed makers did not suppose themselves to be solving mysteries but affirming the existence of irresolvable mysteries'.

Perhaps the chapters on religious authority are the weakest in the book. Dr. Thouless's plea for a balance of tolerance and authority is commendable enough; but he does not really show how this can be achieved. There must clearly be some requirements of the entrant; but one is left with the impression that ecclesiastical power politics, which often have an irrational basis, are bound, in fact, to determine what is officially to be taught and what is not. In his final chapter the author advocates more open allowance by the Church of the intellectual exploration of religion, even if this leads temporarily off the narrow path. In days gone by the penalty for this was often the severest persecution; but 'the modern man cannot be so protected from contact with anti-religious systems of thought. He must have the immunity provided by having thought out the case against religion as fully as possible'. Dr. Thouless ends by giving a critique of the Freudian view of religion, and points out that 'the demonstration of the possibility of the religious explanation (of the universe) must be . . . the first task of religious apologetics at the present time'.

The contemporary situation and that of the future may well be hopeful for religion, because after two or three generations of lack of contact with—even of ignorance of—the Christian Church, many may, if intelligently introduced to its message and its life, find in it the spiritual haven they have long been looking for and have not found in the secular philosophies or quasi-religions of modern culture. We hope Dr. Thouless's book, which is moderately priced, will have a wide sale and provoke constructive discussion.

D. W. GUNDRY.

SCHOLAR AND STATESMAN

WALTER HOWARD FRERE. His Correspondence on Liturgical Revision and Construction. Edited by RONALD C. D. JASPER. Alcuin Club Collections No. XXXIX. S.P.C.K. 1954. 35s.

THIS, the latest volume in the Alcuin Club Collection, gives the text of letters concerned with the question of liturgical reform and, in particular, with liturgical revision in England and in other parts of the Anglican Communion, which Bishop Frere himself considered might be worthy of publication. These letters have had to be edited from carbon copies; they lack some personal remarks which appear in the originals, but, from the documentary point of view, nothing important has been lost.

It must be said, at the outset, that the task of editing could not have been in better hands, and that the Oxford Press have produced the book superbly. "The main purpose of the book," the editor says, "is the provision of important documents, which must speak for themselves. No attempt has been made at a critical survey of Frere's contributions to liturgical reform." But from the letters themselves the reader can make his own estimate and see clearly the main principles which Frere had always in mind and how well he understood, so far as the revision of the Book of Common Prayer was concerned, that the immediate aim must be, not the liturgical scholar's ideal, but, in his own words, something that "might serve, at any rate for the time, as a basis of peaceful and orderly administration in matters of worship." It was for this reason that he supported the Deposited

Book, although, as he said, it contained, besides a number of things which he merely disliked, one or two things which to him seemed not only unwise but unjust.

Apart from this statesmanlike quality which marked him off from the mere scholar, he was under no illusions about the operations of the minds of those who were the real framers of policy. "It is part of the Lambeth diplomacy," he wrote to a Scottish Bishop, "to make everything as ineffective as possible." This letter was concerned with the Advisory Committee, of which Frere was the most learned member. "Their line," he says in the same letter, referring, of course, to "Lambeth", "seems to be only to ask our advice when it is too late to adopt it." The Committee's function, which the Archbishop was always careful to emphasize, was simply to deal "with Rubrical and Liturgical questions specifically referred to it by the Upper House of Convocation." It came finally to this, that the Committee was there, in the Archbishop's own words, to "consider whether any of the recommendations which we (the Upper House) have thus made seem to them to call for protest as being liturgically faulty to such a degree as would make the reconsideration of the question in Convocation desirable."

When the Deposited Book was rejected by the Commons, it was amended by all three Houses of the Assembly. Frere refused to support it in its amended form, for it seemed to him "to offer now no sufficient hope of settlement, but on the contrary, to lead up to acute trouble."

On the question of the Revision of the Canon, Frere's position is made abundantly clear throughout these letters.

> The present state of our Order is doing harm, and hindering worship. Standing in its isolation as little more than a recital of the Institution, its present Consecration Prayer is more Roman than Rome. It ties the act of consecration more narrowly to the words of the original administration than any other Christian liturgy has ever done; and it encourages, therefore, inevitably the habit of looking upon the consecration in the narrowest and most partisan way. The betterment of our doctrinal sympathies and the due appreciation of all that side of the truth, for which the East is standing out against Rome, can hardly go on so long as our Order remains in its present form.

The 1928 Canon seemed to him to meet the needs of those for whom, like himself, the Prayer Book form was unsatisfactory. There would be one Canon, with two alternative clauses, one more or less on Prayer Book lines (representing the Roman view, consecration by certain words), and the other, representing the more primitive and universal view, "treating the Invocation of the Holy Spirit at any rate as an important part of the Consecration." This would involve no doctrinal pronouncement, and would provide the opportunity of a period of peaceful experiment under effective control.

The second part of this book deals, as I have said, with Frere's share, and a very important share it was, in liturgical revision in other parts of the Anglican Communion, in Japan, in South Africa, in Northern Rhodesia, in South India and in Ceylon. Appendix i, under the heading of Membra Disiecta, is a series of letters illustrating the variety and assurance of Frere's learning as well as his sound judgement.

It is to be hoped that these letters as a whole will be read and pondered on, not only by those who may be instrumental in framing future policy in the matters dealt with in them, but also by those who need instruction, guidance and perhaps control as the " ministers and dispensers of God's holy Word and sacraments."

F. J. E. Raby.

CHRISTIAN INITIATION

Confirmation: Its Place in the Baptismal Mystery. By L. S. Thornton. pp. xiv + 204. Dacre Press. 15s.

This volume is an important contribution to the current debate on the significance and order of Christian initiation—important as well for what it fails to achieve as for the conclusions it seeks to enforce. Its value is thus not easy to assess, for profound and illuminating expositions of scripture stand alongside intricate and unconvincing passages of typological exegesis. It may be regarded as a more extended discussion, by way of a detailed examination of relevant passages of scripture, of the thesis maintained by Dr. Thornton in the small pamphlet *Confirmation To-Day* which embodied an address delivered in June 1945 to a sacred synod of the diocese of St. Albans. The dedication, phrased in a simple but pregnant sentence which runs *In piam memoriam Gregory Dix, O.S.B.*, reveals the general position taken up by the author while the preface makes further acknowledgment of his debt to the writings of Gregory Dix on this subject. In an appendix entitled *The Seal of the Spirit* Dr. Thornton remarks ' in so far as the present work has a connexion with current controversy it may be taken to represent in part at least my considered reaction to Professor Lampe's book taken as a whole.' Yet the book, by the author's own confession to be taken as in some measure a critique of, or even a counter-blast to *The Seal of the Spirit*, studiously ignores the arguments of Professor Lampe in the main body of the text and confines its critical observations to comparatively minor points based on a paper by Fr. Joseph Crehan, S.J., of Heythrop. Thornton confines himself to a close scrutiny of scripture with such patristic aid as will support his use of typology, contenting himself with the observation that ' the manner in which the scriptural revelation has been treated by the writer in question [Dr. Lampe] is the Achilles' heel of his entire position.'

The interpretation of the biblical evidence which is offered here follows the same methods and principles already employed by Dr. Thornton in the first two volumes of his great study *The Form of the Servant*. The book is not intended to take its place in that series of studies, but the interpretation of scripture exhibited in the earlier work is applied in this study to the particular topics of baptism and confirmation. Gregory Dix gave the appearance of treating the scriptural evidence somewhat cavalierly and of resting the main weight of his argument on early but post-scriptural liturgical evidence. Dr. Thornton in this era of biblical theology has perceived that what has come to be called the Dix-Mason view of Christian initiation will only be widely persuasive if it can be firmly based on the teaching of scripture. The argument of this book is primarily an appeal to scripture, in an endeavour to supply the defects both of Mason and of Dix. Apart from any contribution it has to offer to the elucidation of the problems of Christian initiation, the book is important as an admirable example of a contemporary trend in biblical study which is both gaining widespread support and also provoking vigorous criticism. The argument claims that in scripture as in the body of Christ, all the parts are vitally related to the whole. The pattern of revealed truth is shown not in one but in many picture-images. Yet one image may sometimes represent the whole inclusively. There would be little inclination to question the validity of such general propositions, but they do not of themselves supply any criteria to enable the reader to determine at what point an image is no longer adequate to a theme or when one image is meant to represent the whole and not just the part of which it is the obvious expression.

The first part of the argument is described as 'a survey of the facts' and proceeds to an examination of a number of scripture texts in an endeavour to show that the two-stage pattern of initiation exhibited by Tertullian and Hippolytus, baptism in water and confirmation by laying-on-of-hands or anointing with chrism is the scriptural pattern of initiation. Such a pattern may be described as a unity which includes distinctions or 'a unity of plurality', which is found alike in scripture and in the definitions of Christian doctrine. The complex whole of image-thinking characteristic of the biblical idiom finds its correspondence in a complex of rites 'which could be defined in terms proper to one aspect of the whole '. From this assertion the conclusion is drawn that every reference to some aspect of initiation must imply the full complex pattern which appears in the third century evidence. It may be just to suggest that the whole of the baptismal mystery is implicit in the single word with which in Romans xiii, II, the baptismal confession of faith is recalled, but it would be injudicious to treat all references to particular features of Christian initiation as though they were little more than convenient forms of theological shorthand for a complex rite, which though never described in full can yet be inferred from fragmentary pieces of evidence. This looks suspiciously like argument in a circle for if a rite comparable to that described by Hippolytus is assumed to have been in existence in the time of Paul, then it may become possible to infer from Pauline language cryptic references to all its features. The imagery used in the fuller description of baptism and its meaning in Romans vi, 3-4 is based upon the practice of immersion in the waters of baptism which is taken to signify a sacramental participation in the death and resurrection of Christ. Such incorporation into Christ means incorporation into his body, the body which since Pentecost possesses the gift of the indwelling Spirit. It would seem to be impossible to be incorporated into the body of Christ, without sharing in the gift of the indwelling Spirit. Dr. Thornton wants to maintain that confirmation is the moment of the sacramental gift of the indwelling Spirit, but is bound to allow that there is a sense in which the whole mystery of the Christ is present in each of the two parts of initiation. He attempts to define the gift of the Spirit at confirmtion as 'a deeper entry into the heart of the neophyte' or as 'a greater intimacy' but this is language which is more appropriate to the idea of growth in the life of the Spirit begun at some decisive moment. The distinction made by Mason between the operation of the Spirit at baptism in regeneration from without and at confirmation in his personal indwelling is presented in these pages once again, though in difficult and unconvincing language. It was severely criticised by the late Dr. Darwell Stone as artificial and meaningless, but Dr. Thornton makes little attempt in this volume to meet the arguments of Dr. Stone who is only mentioned in a footnote.

The exegesis of several passages from Pauline epistles is so forced as to raise doubts in the mind of the reader of the validity of the whole section of the argument. The statement in Galatians iv, 6, 'Because ye are sons, God sent forth his Spirit into your hearts' is interpreted from the English version to signify two stages in initiation. But a true rendering of the Greek would show that Paul cites the gift of the Spirit as sufficient evidence to prove to the Galatians that they are sons of God. The treatment of Romans v, 5, viii, 14-15, and I Corinthians xii 13 is hardly likely to command widespread assent. The reference to the second form of the creation story in Genesis ii as a type of baptism and confirmation is an example of the typology used in the book. When Dr. Thornton attempts to gather up his argument in some positive conclusion, the language seems to differ little either from the conclusions of *The Seal of the Spirit* or the teaching of many parish priests. 'The descent of the Dove after baptism [of Christ] was not so much a bestowal of new gifts as re-endowment for new purpose'. The analogy to be applied to the Christian from the Incarnate Life is that in confirmation he receives a re-endowment of the Spirit for the fulfilment of his calling in the body of Christ. The analogy with the significance of the laying on of hands in ordination is of great importance in the matter. It can only be said that Dr. Thornton is a long way from proving his case, while his theological conclusions seem to suggest strikingly little difference from much pastoral practice of the present hour.

F. J. Taylor.

GEORGE HERBERT: POET AND SAINT

GEORGE HERBERT. By MARGARET BOTTRALL. John Murray. 15s.

MRS. Bottrall has given us an illuminating study of the poet. Better acquainted with Crashaw and Vaughan, the present reviewer had regarded Herbert as simply the poetic commentator, though a commentator of singular felicity and sensibility, upon the Christian religion as seen and taught by Anglicanism in the seventeenth century, to whose distinctive ethos he not only gave a charming poetic expression but actually did much to create it. It was in this light that Shorthouse, the author of *John Inglesant,* in his introduction to a facsimile reprint of the first edition of *The Temple,* had displayed Herbert. Indeed, so far as it goes, this is a true account of his work. But it takes no notice of a deeper and more personal note, the wrestling of a soul with Christ in the depths of prayer which more than any doctrinal or ecclesiastical appreciations is the heart of Herbert's poetry. It is Mrs. Bottrall's merit to make this clear and introduce us to the essential Herbert.

The five poems entitled "Affliction", "The Cross", followed, as they are by the "Flower", when his Saviour once more restores the departed joy of his manifest presence: such poems express an experience at once more individual and more universal than Herbert's denominational meditations, though these of course possess a beauty of their own. Nevertheless, Mrs. Bottrall is disposed to estimate as Herbert's best poem one which, though certainly not denominational, is purely objective, " The Sacrifice ", in which our Lord enumerates in turn the sufferings of his Passion. But its pathos was no doubt fed by the spiritual passion which, as other poems show, had been experienced so intensely by the poet himself.

We must, of course, beware of opposing dogmatic belief and churchmanship to personal experience. The former is the soil wherein the latter grows and thrives. In two passages the writer seems to make this mistake, to suggest that the " religious terminology " of Herbert and Hopkins is but " a professional preoccupation " which can be ignored by the " ordinary man " concerned only with his personal " moods of discouragement ", or his " joy of hope renewed ": can even say that " his [Herbert's] concern with ethics rather than dogma commends him to his fellow countrymen ". Nothing could be further from Herbert than the religion, if it can be so called, of undogmatic morality which did not in fact invade Anglican pulpits until eighteenth-century rationalism had, as the author herself shows, relegated Herbert's poetry to temporary oblivion. These two passages are perplexing. For Mrs. Bottrall elsewhere not only displays sympathetic understanding of Herbert's beliefs but gives us the impression of substantial agreement. And she rightly regards Herbert's " untroubled acceptance of Christian orthodoxy according to the tenets of the Church into which he was born " — quite other, surely, than a code of moral conduct, as giving his poetry a simplicity lacking in Donne, who wrestled all his life with doubts and doctrinal difficulties. We agree with Mrs. Bottrall that, at any rate so far as we can judge, Herbert was not a mystic. But there is nothing insane about ecstacy (44).

Herbert's writings afford an instructive warning against pressing what seems the plainest statement. He certainly did not hold he Sacramental doctrine of Roman and Anglo-Catholics. In an unpublished poem he seems to hesitate whether or not to believe in any objective presence in the consecrated elements. Yet he can write:

When God vouchsafeth to become our fare
Their hands convey Him who conveys their hands.

In his *Christian Year* Keble originally denied that our Lord's body is received in the communicant's hands, and it was only later under the influence of Tractarianism that he affirmed it. Was Herbert, then, more Anglo-Catholic than the early Keble? It is hard to believe. In his prose work, *The Country Parson*, his language is even stronger " At Communion times " the Parson is " not only to receive God but to *break* and administer him ". It is certain that Herbert did not believe in Transubstantiation, and that St. Thomas Aquinas did. Yet the latter explicitly rejects Herbert's language. " Only the sign is broken without any change of the condition or size of Him of whom it is the sign." Had we no further evidence than these two statements, we should reverse the Eucharistic theology of the two writers. Yet scholars confidently press some unsupported and possibly casual statement of an early Father. We should be more cautious.

Crashaw introduces a poem accompanying the present of a copy of *The Temple* with the verse

Know you fair on what you look:
Divinest love lies in this book:
Expecting fire from your eyes
To kindle this his sacrifice.

" Anything more offensive to Herbert ", comments Mrs. Bottrall, " than the implication of the second couplet can scarcely be imagined ", and she supports her criticism by quoting Herbert's rejection of love poetry. She has misunderstood Crashaw. There is no suggestion of love felt for the lady in question—probably a member of the community at Little Gidding—or of her *beaux yeux*. He means no more than the obvious truth that a book of devotion cannot be an offering of love to God until it is actually read and prayed.

A solis ortus cardine and *Hostis Herodes impie* are not, as Mrs. Bottrall believes, two contemporary hymns, but two selections from the same alphabetic poem on our Lord's life.

E. I. WATKIN.

ANGELS AND DEMONS

THE ANGELS OF LIGHT AND THE POWERS OF DARKNESS. A Symposium by Members of the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius. Edited by E. L. MASCALL. Faith Press. 5s.

This little book, slender in bulk but massive in learning, represents the views of three authors, prepared, as the editor explains, to pool their ideas for the common interest. One holds a university chair of philosophy, another is an Orthodox monk, and the third is a well-known priest, of wide parochial experience in this country. Together they form a team strong enough to do battle with their most difficult subject of angels and demons. It is a matter for comment how little this theme has been developed in Anglican thought and teaching. To some extent it has been literally bedevilled by the spate of popular literature dealing with all sorts of occult phenomena in recent years. Assuredly, superficial views cannot be laid at the door of the present writers; they drill as deeply into the core as their space permits. But they would be the first to agree that angelology is only likely to be acceptable to 'witnesses chosen before of God'. In other words, some prior inclination (to put it no higher) on the part of the reader to allow for the presence and influence of the unseen is a prerequisite to a fruitful perusal of these pages. They will not, probably, convert, but they will doubtless strengthen and enlighten where goodwill exists.

It is perhaps worth recollecting, to stress this point, that several instances occur in the Gospel narratives in which some particular spiritual experience of the supernatural was reserved for persons known in the Divine Wisdom to be capable of profiting from it—the Transfiguration, for example. We find no evidence of an indiscriminate showering of abnormal manifestations upon all and sundry.

This restriction is closely linked to a remark (on p. 62), to the effect that modern thought is unknowingly conditioned by the Renaissance, a movement designed to put man well and truly at the centre of things with his feet firmly on the ground. It is unlikely that, thus anchored, he will readily free himself from domes, the golden section, and a (largely) anthropomorphic geometry, to pierce through the veil of sense normally surrounding him. All of which leads naturally to a particular aspect of the term 'symbol'. The word is used in the older connotation, namely as 'truth-telling portraits of a reality', rather than as a 'personification' of something scarcely capable of being so described.

These comments refer particularly to the last essay in the collection; they are given to some extent out of turn because to many readers it will be the more practical considerations which are most likely to appeal. Further, it is pointed out, how unsatisfying—and incidentally how trivial—the so-called revelations of the seance room appear, when judged with detachment. And this is precisely because they contribute nothing essentially new.

Professor Hodges, in his survey of 'Angels and Human Knowledge', concludes by saying in effect that the real barrier to a deeper cognition of the angelic world is the 'alien culture' in which we are all more or less immersed. Various other shortcomings by which we are sore let and hindered are seen to be subordinate. What, therefore, is to be done? It looks as if we must do as the late

Professor E. A. Taylor suggested many years ago in *Essays Catholic and Critical*, namely, to desire some great good fervently before we can hope to find it. We shall, in fact, never discover what we do not want to discover. And so it will be with mankind's awareness of the Heavenly Host and the Powers of Evil.

The middle paper of the series is valuable in showing the sources of many of the concepts coming down to us from the mystical writers of Eastern Christianity, particularly those of the fourth and fifth centuries. Many of them will be unfamiliar to Anglicans, especially perhaps the important 'Spiritual Homilies' commonly attributed to Macarius. The feature common to much of this period is the dominating position given to demons compared with that allowed to angels. The former are obviously the aggressors against which the faithful need to be well armed. Possibly it is no mere accident that (as the present reviewer has recently observed in several medieval wall-paintings in Denmark) the most characteristic weapon of the devil is mockery, at all times a most effective means of softening-up his adversary.

It remains to discern the upshot of all this for the age in which we live, and for its influence upon our actions. The concluding paragraphs in this manual permit of no doubt on this score. The two criteria are dependence and penitence; the former the rightful attitude of creature to Creator, the latter a willingness, at whatever cost, to love him who first loved us. And the test is the Johannine one of searching out the spirits whether they be of God. For however great the complexity, 'yet he is not two, but one Christ'.

F. I. G. RAWLINS.

THE PAPACY AND HISTORY

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAPACY. By H. BURN-MURDOCH. Faber. 42s.

THIS book attempts in a little over 400 pages to give an impartial survey of the facts necessary to form a judgement about the claims to authority and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome from the earliest ages until 1950, and also records the conclusions drawn by the two opposing schools of thought from those facts. This is an impossible task, but it is a remarkable tribute to the author's ability and industry that he very nearly succeeds. His method is to take each point of the Papal claims and each period of history in which these claims might be traced, state the relevant facts in as objective a way as possible, and then give the two opposite verdicts passed upon the facts by the two opposing viewpoints, leaving the reader to judge for himself. The result is a sort of text-book of the Roman controversy based on wide reading, written in a spirit of determined honesty, and embodying almost all the latest opinions and discoveries relevant to this particular subject. It is a book that the libraries of theological colleges must have, diocesan libraries ought to buy, and parochial clergy ought to consider.

In a book which deals with such a vast number of points great and small there are inevitably some mistakes and some deficiences. The discussion of the New Testament evidence is wholly uncritical, which represents an unnecessary concession to the pro-Papal point of view. In treating of the 'Rock' passage in Matthew, for instance, (pp. 47-52), it is not evident that Dr Burn-Murdoch has read either O. Cullmann's or G. D. Kilpatrick's books on the subject. Again, the writer's summaries of history sometimes tend to become crude (e.g. the reference on p. 163 to the 'continual intervention and domineering of the Emperors', and the account of the state of the Eastern Church on pp. 267-8). The statement (p. 221) that 'notwithstanding some faults of vehemence and impatience; St. Cyril [of Alexandria] remains famous for his "high-souled struggle"' etc., savours to us too strongly of the glib judgement of the text-book. And it is unfortunate that the title of Chapter XVIII in the contents and above the Chapter itself should give Origen's death as taking place in 243, though the date is given correctly as 255 on pp. 62 and 123—a point which incidentally might lead us to inquire why the B.B.C. should be celebrating the 17th centenary of Origen's death in 1954!

But this is after all a work covering an immense field in a relatively small compass, and the reader is given no serious reason for complaint; his main sentiment must be one of gratitude that so difficult a subject has been handled moderately and concisely. Dr Burn-Murdoch's method naturally tends to the conclusion that the facts are open to two radically different interpretations depending upon the presuppositions with which the reader approaches them, and in a certain sense this is true. It is a question of whether we allow ourselves to be guided by the evidence for Papal authority in the first century or by the evidence for it in the twentieth.

If we hold a theory of revelation, tradition and history that attaches ultimate importance to 'that which was the beginning', and that believes that nothing unknown to or incongruous with the life and witness of the Church of the first century can be an integral part of Christianity, and indeed its most important and indispensable feature, then we will have no difficulty in dismissing Papal claims on Dr Burn-Murdoch's evidence. The arguments of A (his pro-Papal voice) based on the material provided by the first three centuries are strained, speculative and quite unimpressive. The attempt to squeeze favourable evidence out of the Letter of Clement or the Letters of Ignatius is a desperate one; Batiffol and Chapman betray by their indignation at Cyprian (recorded on p. 134) how sharply the evidence of his works contradicts their case for the Papal claims; there is no satisfactory evidence whatever that Pope Sylvester either convoked or confirmed the Council of Nicæa, and so on. But if we believe that because the Pope was in later ages given by the Western Church a position of far-reaching and almost absolute authority, therefore that position must have been intended by God from the beginning and that he today claims no more than his due, then it is quite easy to read that position into the history of at least the Western Church from the sixth century onwards, and not impossible to be persuaded that that position must somehow have been conceded by the whole Christian Church from the beginning.

What do we mean by 'tradition'? What do we think revelation is? How far is it possible to be objective in studying history? What is the seat of authority in the Church? All these questions lie behind every chapter of Dr Burn-Murdoch's book, though they are not directly handled there. These are the sort of questions to which Anglicans should now be turning their attention.

R. P. C. HANSON.

THE THEOLOGY OF CALVIN

THE DOCTRINE OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD. A STUDY IN THE THEOLOGY OF JOHN CALVIN. By T. H. L. PARKER, M.A., B.D., Vicar of Brothertoft, Lincs. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh. 1952. Pp. viii + 120. 10s. 6d.

THE good parishioners of Brothertoft must have had a tough time during the months which their Vicar occupied in the writing of this detailed study of Calvin's theology. For it is impossible to think that a mind so wholly imbued with Calvin's thought and with Calvin's ways of expressing his thought can have avoided a preaching of the Gospel not common to-day, at any rate south of the Border. But if the going was sometimes hard one thing at least is certain. They were held firmly to three main truths, that it is indeed in the knowledge of God that 'standeth our eternal life', that we cannot have this knowledge of ourselves, but only through the revelation which is in Jesus Christ, and that this redeeming revelation comes to us in no other way than in the inspired and written Word of God.

It is perhaps unfair to make a guess as to the content and manner of Mr. Parker's sermons. What is quite certain is that he has soaked himself so thoroughly in Calvin's writings and identified himself so wholly with Calvin's ways of thought that even where his argument leaves the direct line of quotation from the *Institutio* and the Commentaries he still, as he himself admits, argues 'Calvinishly'. The result is a study of unexpected independence and force. Many of us to-day whose trade is with the theologies have perforce to treat Calvin as we treat St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, taking a very generalized look at their writings, and forming judgments which at least in part are second-hand. There is nothing in the least second-hand about Mr. Parker's work, and the result is that he is able to give precision to the special aspect of Calvin's thought with which he is concerned and to correct some inadequate but widely current generalizations.

The essential point is that man of himself cannot know God and that Nature does not reveal him. Calvin's immense appreciation of Nature and his reverence for it as God's handiwork has led sometimes to the belief that Calvin had something in common with the Deists and with the more theistically minded modern scientists, who hold that God has made himself known not only in his Word but in his works, and quote the opening words of Psalm 19 in support of that view. But here Calvin is quite clear and explicit. It is precisely the glory of God that the heavens declare, and not the inmost truth of God's own Being. If Calvin inherits from the great Schoolmen the postulate of the *analogia entis,* it is only to maintain with complete conviction that so far as the natural order is concerned analogy remains analogy. It must necessarily lie wholly upon this side of the veil. Only in Christ is the veil rent, from top to bottom, and so only in him can analogy be known as revelation. And the only key to the knowledge of this revelation is the inspired Word of God, the Scriptures. Thus we find Calvin completely loyal throughout to the 'formal principle' of the Reformation, that the Bible alone is not merely sufficient for our faith, but its absolute and final norm and principle.

He is, of course, perfectly well aware that the Word is also revealed to men through preaching and through the rightly ordered life of the Church. Otherwise he would not have taken his place in history as one of the greatest pioneers in practical theocratic statesmanship. But for him both preaching and the ordered Church rest wholly upon Scripture, for only in Scripture is the Word made absolute, giving saving knowledge of Jesus Christ.

It is obvious enough that a theology of this kind runs counter to the main tendencies of modern thought, in the Church and outside it. The scientist is pointing us to a Universe which, though it has not done so as yet, may be fully expected to answer its own questions, and when those answers are given and understood they must necessarily, so we are told, take their place in our understanding of that eternal principle by which the ordered whole is kept in being. That we should be thus firmly recalled to a very different type of thought is all to the good. We may not read the Bible to-day just in Calvin's way, though it is worth while to remember that he ranks very high indeed among Biblical commentators. But it remains as true to-day as it was when he wrote that Nature is not and cannot be her own interpreter. We may search the whole Natural order as we will, but we shall not thereby find out God. We may indeed find his glory, but we shall not, even so, know it as his, until the Word of revelation has broken through to us. Then and then only the works which of themselves cannot reveal God are known as his, and he makes himself known in them.

L. W. GRENSTED.

TWO FAMOUS SCHOLARS

JOHN MILL AND RICHARD BENTLEY. A study of the textual criticism of the New Testament. By ADAM FOX. Blackwell, 1954. 25s.

THIS work is the third to appear under the auspices of the Aularian

Association which assists the publication of scholarly works written by members of St. Edmund Hall or relating to its history. It is a volume that merits the adjective, 'scholarly'. 102 pages are devoted to John Mill and 24 to Richard Bentley; 24 more to various Excursuses, including a very valuable one on Mill's materials for his Prolegomena. Ten pages of notes at the end take the place of footnotes in the text and the book is well indexed. This summary of its contents does little justice to the amount of research that must have been undertaken.

The book begins with an account of a scholar's uneventful life from 1645 to 1685. In 1685 Mill who had held a College living of Bletchingdon and who had married, only to become a widower less than a year later, was elected Principal of St. Edmund Hall. There, as at Bletchingdon, Mill proved himself a busy and efficient person. 'As Principal of a hall he would be in the position of a College tutor and a hotel-keeper in one'. He kept up the numbers and completed the chapel and library. It seems that he was not a man who made friends easily but he was 'tireless in assisting others in the production of works of learning and seems to have cared less than some whether his share was acknowledged or not'. He appears to have kept clear of the polemical writing and the personal quarrels which marred the characters and dissipated the energies of many of his contemporaries.

Chapters iv-vii deal with Mill's great life-work, his edition of the Greek New Testament with variant readings and prolegomena. Chapter iv describes his predecessors in this field with special reference to Dean Fell, whose edition was the parent of Mill's. Chapter v is divided into four parts, on bibliography, on the process of compilation, on the contents of the *magnum opus* and on its publication. The first of these four parts may not be exciting to any but the specialist but the other three parts of this chapter are of great general interest. 'What is remarkable', we read, 'is to see with Mill, as with all his successors in the same field of study, a record of growing complexity in the problems before him, making them in the end almost overwhelming'. One cannot step into the same river of textual criticism twice. Mill was a man of considerable courage and prodigious industry to step in at all. His work inevitably challenged the supremacy of the 'Received Text', based as the latter was thanks to Erasmus and Stephanus on late and comparatively few manuscripts. Not only did he collate and examine manuscripts endlessly but he was also shrewd enough to see the decisive importance of patristic citations. He recognized the great value of the Old Latin version and he anticipated a number of modern ideas on the Synoptic problem. Like other textual critics, he had his weak points. 'He knew none of the Oriental languages except Hebrew, and perhaps not much of that'. He counted rather than weighed manuscripts. But his influence on his successors is incalculable. They included Küster and Mace; the latter is the 'Blake of textual critics', who certainly deserved to be rescued as he is here from oblivion.

Bentley was a much prouder and more contentious person but his Remarks provided telling arguments against Mill's detractors. Chapter ix describes the waxing and waning of Bentley's own interest in an edition of the Greek Testament, which came in the end to nothing. We read that the failure of his project discouraged scholars in England and that the work passed over to Germany until the time of Tregelles and of Scrivener. One may add that we then had Westcott and Hort in this country and, later still, Souter and others who have kept the study of the text of the New Testament constantly before them and who have maintained the tradition of selfless research in this field which they inherited from John Mill.

C. S. C. WILLIAMS.

CHRISTIANITY AND MYTH

MYTH AND RITUAL IN CHRISTIANITY. By ALAN W. WATTS. Thames and Hudson, London. 25s.

THE rôle of myth in religion—and in human thought generally—is one which is attracting more and more attention. The liberal theologians of the last century and the beginning of the twentieth, inheriting the rationalist tradition of the eighteenth and facing up to the challenge of historico-critical methodology in their own day, used mythology extensively to formulate a philosophy of religion. Not only were the Liberal Protestants among their number, but also many of the then Catholic modernists. Today the subject is still much in the air, particularly as presented in Dr. Bultmann's demythologization thesis. For others, however, who are more concerned with the psychology than with the history of religion, as for example Jung and his school, myth is not so much a stumbling block as a key to the inner world of the soul.

Dr. Alan Watts, an Englishman by birth, who is a professor in the American Academy of Asian Studies at San Francisco, comes nearer to the latter than to the Bultmann school, but he has a special approach of his own. 'Anyone', he says, 'who has studied Christianity by present-day methods employed in universities and theological schools must accustom himself to a rather unusual perspective in approaching Christianity as a coherent myth'. Dr. Watts, though not yet forty, has shown, in his latest book and in his earlier works on Zen Buddhism and other subjects connected with eastern religions, both erudition and originality. He has, too, a simple style which invites interest.

As we should expect from someone who has lived within the Christian Church and who even now, despite his attraction to Buddhism, still appreciates it because of the religious insight which it has given him, Dr. Watts in his *Myth and Ritual in Christianity* puts before us no mere armchair enquiry. Religion is for him a living, essential part of human life, which cannot be properly understood without humility and insight.

His method is refreshing because it dispenses with the often sterile historical approach to religion. As he himself says, 'The inner life of

Christianity—the contemplation of God—is not just the reverent remembering of a past history, but the recurrent celebration and reliving of a timeless truth '. It is clear throughout that the author has drawn extensively from his reading on the ancient and modern eastern religions; for he compares many points of Christian myth and ritual with those other religions. This is an undertaking fraught with many temptations to theorize rashly: yet, in a smaller world than ever before where the capitals of the great religions are only so many hours' flying distance from one another, and where intelligent laymen want to know more and more about other faiths than their own, such a task is unavoidable. Would that Christian theologians were less concerned with many of the profitless *minutiae* of biblical criticism and ecclesiology and more concerned with the great themes of the living religions.

Dr. Watts's book is full of fascinating information; and he not only gives plenty of explanatory footnotes but also provides a useful glossary of technical terms. Under ' Hours ', as in the note on p. 89, however, it should be noted that Prime follows Lauds and not *vice versa,* as is stated here. We also demur from Dr. Watts's castigation of the surplice as ' a barbarous vestment from Northern latitudes, often decked out with lace '. The true full surplice we notice is a more comely garment by far than the skimpy petticoat-frilled cotta of Italian invention. Likewise, it may be pointed out that the traditional English blue for penitential seasons is preferable to the vulgar modern Italian purple. But *de gustibus non disputandum.*

Yet these minor points do not affect the fascination—often a dangerous fascination—of Dr. Watts's main text. It is worth quoting fairly fully from his prologue what he sets out to do.

> Our main object will be to describe one of the most incomparably beautiful myths that has ever flowered from the mind of man, or from the unconscious processes which shape it and which are in some sense more than man. We shall not be concerned with how much of the myth is woven out of historical facts, and how much out of fiction—seeing that we have defined myth as any narrative, factual or fanciful, which is taken to signify the inner meaning of life. . . . After description, we shall attempt an interpretation of the myth along the lines of a *philosophia perennis* in order to bring out the truly catholic or universal character of the symbols, and to share the delight of discovering a fountain of wisdom in a realm where so many have long ceased to expect anything but a desert of platitudes.

And we must mention here how much the well-chosen illustrations, including some drawings by the author, add to the interest and value of the book.

In his first chapter Dr. Watts deals with the Christian myth of the premundane creation, then of the creation of the world, and of the creation and fall of man; for this gives ' a clue to the entire mentality of Western culture, which, for more than fifteen hundred years, regarded it as the serious and sober account of the world's origin.' This positive point of view is refreshing indeed, since most discussions of cosmogonic myth are concerned only to point out its unscientific nature. In this chapter, as throughout the book, there is a wealth of fascinating out-of-the-way data; but at the same time important theological and philosophical problems are raised, particularly concerning God and the Devil. The author also indicates how the cosmogonic myth underlies much in the liturgy. He ends by remarking,

> With the Fall of Adam and the expulsion from Eden, the Christian story has stated its problem. It has represented the whole plight of man and of the created universe. . . . From now on the story turns to the extrication of man from the tangle in which Lucifer has involved him, to his Salvation from Death and Hell.

The second chapter discusses the underlying meaning of the myth of the Creation and Fall. Here Dr. Watts makes a fruitful excursus on the nature of theology, which, as ' a strange confusion of two types of knowledge—metaphysic and science,' involves Christian mythology in peculiar ' problems of interpretation which are hardly found elsewhere.' It is clear that the author, who has been much impressed by oriental idealism, regards theology as fundamentally an unsatisfactory *mélange*; for on the one hand it tends to regard myth as history, and on the other to regard metaphysical truth in the same way. This confusion, Dr. Watts maintains, has vitiated the Christian understanding of the myth of Satan. In his ensuing attempt to see in Lucifer and Christ ' two distinct operations of the Divine ', in the Fall ' man's forgetting of his divine nature ', and in Salvation ' the recollection of his divinity, the awakening or birth of Godhead in man ', he is obviously trying to wring out of the mythology a quasi-Vedantic significance. The fallacy in Dr. Watts's thesis lies in his almost tacit assumption that the imagery of myth, apart from its beauty, is no improvement upon the abstractions of metaphysics.

The chapter on the Christian Advent reminds many modern Protestant readers how much they have lost by learning their religion from Bible stories without reference to the ' ritual re-living of Christ ' in the Christian year. There is much of interest in his review of typology in the liturgy and in the cult of the Virgin; but there is something unconvincing about many of the parallels which the author draws from other religions, ancient and modern. Nevertheless, his interpretation is one that cannot be dismissed as irreverent or destructive: on the contrary it deserves considered, fair-minded examination by Christian theologians.

The chapters on Christmas and Epiphany, on the Passion, on Easter to Pentecost, not only continue Dr. Watts's interpretation of Christian mythology on the lines of an occidentalized oriental idealism, but are also a striking introduction to the offices and ceremonies of the Christian liturgical calendar.

> The Mass involves all that the Church ' does '; it is *the* action of the Church, since the transformation of bread and wine into Christ is the whole work of realizing the unity of creation with its Creator. For it is the *anamnesis*, the re-membering, of the One whose dismemberment is the formation of the world.

This conclusion illustrates admirably the author's treatment of the liturgy.

The final chapter on Christian eschatology deals, *inter alia,* with the Catholic last rites and the mythology of the after-life, including such matters as the Judgment, Purgatory, Hell, and Heaven; and there are suggestive discussions of the Judgment theme in European art and the last things in Hindu and Buddhist mythology.

Dr. Watts's book is important in many respects. One is its attempt to correlate Christian myth and ritual with that of other religions—a task which, as we have already suggested, cannot be avoided in the present-day world. Even more important is its approach to the subject from his peculiar standpoint of philosophical idealism. This provides a welcome constructive contrast to the destructive verbal analysis which characterizes so much contemporary philosophy, in Britain at any rate. The book is truly post-logical-positivist. Further, however dubious the reader may be about many of Dr. Watts's contentions, he cannot but find many interesting ideas in this book; and he cannot but be impressed by its author's reverent, if independent, viewpoint. The book ends:

> The marvellous symbols of Christianity might still—one is tempted to say, ought to begin to—have a message for Western man, that anxious and restless eccentric who has 'no time' because he has reduced his present to an abstract dividing line between past and future, and who confuses his very self with a past which is no more and a future which is not yet. . . . He must know that the true place of Bethlehem, Calvary and Olivet is no more in history, and that Death, the Second Advent, and Heaven are not in a time to come.

We conclude by hoping that the reader will not be deceived by this attractive but questionable assertion. The Christian cannot lightly dismiss the historicity of Christ, nor agree that the ultimate truth is necessarily enshrined in flights of the human imagination, however venerable and beautiful.

D. W. GUNDRY.

KARL BARTH

AGAINST THE STREAM. By KARL BARTH. S.C.M. Press. 16s.

THIS book is composed of a collection from articles and addresses of Karl Barth, written or delivered since 1945, made by R. Gregor Smith, who contributes an interesting introduction. The title is due to Barth's feeling that in many ways his outlook and pronouncements run counter to the prevalent ideas of this time.

Like all his works, this book is oracular, prophetic, and urgent: and raises fundamental questions in the reader's mind. Some of us can never be content with making the Bible the source, and only source, of revelation; and with the view that revelation is *only* in Jesus Christ, the unique, historical life. It is against this theological background that Barth endeavours to proclaim the relations of Church and State, and to articulate the Church's duty in the existing situation.

Naturally he starts by stating that the Church's primary and basic duty is to live her own distinctive life, and declare her own message. He is equally emphatic that this should not result in the Church shutting herself up within herself and letting the world go by. He is not equally clear in showing how these two convictions can co-exist. For one thing, he never explains how the state is to receive the Word; for he regards the state as *ipso facto* incapable of receiving revelation: for another he is never really clear as to the *modus operandi* of divine grace. Sometimes he writes as if God had left the bulk of mankind to go their own way, neither speaking to them nor acting within them. The God of history appears to have shut himself up within a very limited orbit of action, and Barth to be producing a Christian (?) version of Jewish exclusiveness at its worst.

Again in his analysis of the nature of the state he makes much play with the concept of analogy: but he never seems to realize what this ought to mean. Analogy means that the same Logos finds self-manifestation in different spheres. Applied to the problems with which Barth is dealing, it means that the one Logos indwells the body politic *and* Jesus Christ. Now this Logos can become actual in human individuals and societies only through the one Spirit. Of this Barth gives no hint. He never envisages the struggles of immanent Spirit with disobedient men and unresponsive societies. He shows no sign of having read the eighth chapter of the book of Wisdom, or of having grappled with the issues it raises: nor does he estimate the relevance for his problems of the Johannine statement that the Word was in the world (i.e. prior to the Incarnation), and the world knew him not.

The result is that in the last resort Barth leaves the Church just ' over against ' the world, and makes authority purely external. This externalizing of spiritual authority leads logically to Roman Catholicism—which is hardly what Barth intends!

Finally, if human reason is as infected as Barth would have us believe, can we trust either his reasonings, or our own estimates of them? Can we also consistently admit the authority of a Bible whose books were written by ' fallen ' men? Unless, of course, we revert to theories of mechanical inspiration.

But whilst this book rouses these fundamental queries, it also gives much illumination. At many a point Barth ' sees ', and forces us to see. His journeyings among the Christians of Europe have not been in vain, nor the reporting of his findings which this volume contains. It is hardly possible for a reviewer even to attempt to do justice to this aspect: for the points raised in a collection such as this would need to be taken and appraised one by one. Yet for one reader at least it was just this variety of glimpses of truth that constituted the main and indisputable value of this book. It is a book to be read, re-read, and pondered many times; whose provocations to thought should result in the reader finding himself in the end possessor of a richer and more coherent view than he had hitherto enjoyed. In this age when corporate life is becoming ever more important we cannot study too deeply what that corporate life should be, and how the Church is to deal with its several manifestations.

C. J. BARKER.

DR. C. H. DODD'S NEW TESTAMENT STUDIES

New Testament Studies. By C. H. Dodd. Manchester University Press. 16s.

In this collection of biblical and theological studies Dr. C. H. Dodd, in the rôle of deipnosophist, gives us a seven-course banquet which invites the compilation of a menu. Clearly the two central articles on the 'Mind of St. Paul' must be the joint: the other courses, served with the wines of a clear and elegant style, are lighter but no less attractive—a real refreshment to the scholarly reader.

The first essay is a study of the craftsmanship of St. Mark as shown in the arrangement of his materials. Dodd gives reasons for thinking that Mark had an outline of the ministry of our Lord transmitted from the primitive church into which he wove the isolated or complex 'pericopae' which he collected; in consequence, his order of events is not lightly to be set aside, though it is not in all respects reliable.

There follows a fascinating examination of the fragments of an unknown gospel known as Egerton papyrus 2. Like all textual studies this must be read in close detail, and an appreciation of its arguments as supporting an early knowledge of, and respect for, the fourth gospel in Egypt would be too lengthy for this review. Dodd's conjectural restoration of a lost nature miracle from fragment 2 verso is delightfully ingenious.

The third essay finds noteworthy affinities between St. Matthew and the Pauline epistles in eschatology, church order, and Pharisaic controversy. This is set out as confirming the author's well-known and generally accepted view that behind all our New Testament lies a common and primitive Kerygima and Didache.

There follow two important and complementary essays on 'The Mind of Paul'. Dodd here suggests that the Apostle's conversion, though it gave him complete and immediate conviction, did not at once make him 'a new man'. It was followed by a long process of education by Christ, during which the assertive proud and ambitious character of the 'perfect Pharisee' was tempered and sanctified in a fierce moral conflict. The battle ended in a crisis. A passionate resentment at the rejection of his authority at Corinth, evoked the sarcasm and self-vindication of the letter represented by II Cor. x-xiii. This is followed, perhaps in illness, by an apology, and quiet self-abandonment to the love of God (II Cor. iv-v). In the later epistles fanaticism and intolerance disappear, and the spirit of generosity and reconciliation prevails. This thesis requires, in the second article, a detailed examination of the chronology of the epistles as a basis for studying this assumed development of the mind of Paul, in the course of which the 'Ephesian' theory of the captivity epistles is convincingly rejected. Then Dodd is free to show how Paul outgrew a 'harsh dualism' of eschatology between 'this age' and 'the age to come', and between 'the things of the world' and 'the things of the Lord'. Paul has 'come to terms' with life, in a larger hope for mankind and the whole universe.

A stimulating, though rather speculative essay follows, on the Communion of Saints. Dodd sees the Christian hope of immortality as dependent on participation in the divine society in which are treasured the values without which the individual can never attain to true personality. The concept of a ' national heritage ' is here amplified into that of a universal heritage transmitted within the society of the divine love. The idea of the preservation and intensification of values permanently within a society of passing individuals (' There'll always be an England ') is perhaps true enough. But the values are always for the individual, and preserved, not in some race-spirit (which is mythology) but in history and tradition. The values of ancient Greece, for example, are alive for us by such transmission, and not because we participate in some ' Hellenic spirit '. If the communion of saints in the love of God is such a race spirit of universal Christianity, there still remains the task of proving that this living communion has the power of ultimately recreating those whom it has once possessed. Dodd builds too vast a superstructure upon a single text (Hebr. xi, 39-40) and seems to regard relations as entities with creative power, whereas they are really names for personal attitudes towards this or that object, or for connexions mentally recognized between objects. Relations do not ' constitute ' a personality or a community, but describe it.

A second Ingersoll lecture, delivered fifteen years later in 1950, continues the theme of Eternal Life. After contrasting the ' Greek view ', as represented by Plato and Philo (How often these two are wrongly taken as ' typical ' by Christian writers !) of the eternal as immovable and changeless with the Hebrew historicism of the Living God and the life of the ' Two ages ', Dodd turns to the New Testament. Here a profound change has taken place; with the appearance of Jesus Christ the life of the ' age to come ' has interpenetrated ' this life '. The new outlook is, of course, primarily that of the fourth Gospel. Its attitude implies that eternal life has entered the possible range of human experience. The possibility depends on a decisive conflict between the forces of light as typified in Christ, and the powers of darkness. In Him ' the activity of the living Father is at its most intense '. Thus we have depicted an antithesis of the ' Greek ' conception of the Divine as static absolute. Here, one thinks, Dodd does less than justice even to Plato, in view of his later doctrine of the soul, which those who contrast Greek and Jewish-Christian views often ignore.

With a delicate insight it is then shown how, throughout the Gospel, the action of Our Lord is a constant drawing of the disciples into union with the divine life, a personal re-creation of new birth proceeding from God's love. That life, in its intensity of quality, is now not only transcendently real but transcendentally actualized. In the fourth Gospel the movement of the divine life of the Word is always changing and active, yet always the same. The supreme ' moment ' which ' is coming and now is ' is the moment of the death, resurrection and ascension of Christ in which the historical and the supra-historical coincide, and are henceforth linked 'in' Him. Eternal life for us is therefore God's action in our lives; at every moment our life is indestructible in so far as it consists in a personal relationship with God. We presume, from the previous lecture, that Dodd would add 'in the divine-human society of his Church'.

This inspiring essay forms a fitting conclusion to a 'cena dubia', ('Cena dubia apponitur' 'Quid istuc verbi est?' 'Cena ubi tu dubitas quid sumas potissimum'.) a treat for scholars not only from its content but also from its clarity of thought, order, and style. Once more we are debtors to one who occupies a unique position among Biblical scholars, and whose writings prove that genuine scholarship can lead to a catholicity which still rises triumphantly over tendencious and *ex parte* thesis-making.

C. B. ARMSTRONG.

ECUMENISM

A HISTORY OF THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT 1517-1948. Edited by RUTH ROUSE and STEPHEN CHARLES NEILL. S.P.C.K. 32s. 6d.

EVEN the most hardened reviewer must be daunted by the attempt to write a reasonably short review on a volume of this size and scope. It is a veritable mine of information and will clearly be a standard work of reference for many years to come. Its weaknesses are those of any composite volume, a certain repetitiveness as the same incidents are examined from different points of view, and the reader will find it necessary to keep in mind the personal equation of particular contributors. The selection of individual essays for special commendation might well be a better indication of the interests of the reviewer than of the merits of the book but the masterly ability to cover wide periods of history of Bishop Stephen Neill, the historical erudition of Professor Norman Sykes and the clear grasp of theological issues of Professor Florovsky are outstanding in their chosen fields. The American scene, so different in many respects from the European situation, is vividly depicted by Professor Yoder, while special sympathy must be felt for Canon Oliver Tompkins in his objective and charitable treatment of the relations (so far officially negative) of the Roman Catholic Church with the Ecumenical Movement. The latter half of the book gives the first full-scale account of the Ecumenical Movement in the present century and its tributaries in the sphere of practical cooperation between the Churches. A certain degree of regrettable compression in individual contributions was probably inevitable but this is somewhat mitigated in one or two cases by the promise of fuller treatment elsewhere. The editors have certainly fulfilled their difficult and unenviable task to admiration.

The historical part of the work presents a story which cannot be read without mixed feelings. The tragic incidence of non-theological factors is illustrated by the political alignments of the times and the vicissitudes of the individual promoters of schemes for Reunion is clearly brought out. The record gives little encouragement to the method of Reunion by Ambiguity and even less to the search for specious compromises. The practical and theological tensions within Communions like the Anglican and the Orthodox plainly emerge. Yet the resultant impression is left that the will to Ecumenicity is more strongly present to-day than ever before and also that it is more solidly based and deeply rooted than in past centuries. The practical results of the last fifty years so carefully tabulated by Bishop Stephen Neill constitute an impressive record of tangible progress.

The book is admirably produced and, for its size, remarkably low in price. It deserves to be read by all well-wishers of the cause of Reunion no less for the warnings which it conveys than for the encouragement that it affords.

H. E. W. TURNER.

EASTERN ASCETICISM

EARLY FATHERS FROM THE PHILOKALIA. Translated by E. KADLOUBOVSKY and G. E. H. PALMER. Faber. 1954. 35s.

IN a former volume, *Writings from the Philokalia on Prayer of the Heart*, the present translators from the Russian version of that great collection of eremitical and monastic authors of early Eastern Christendom had a comparatively easy task. The book treated of one main theme as a whole. Here the subject matter is more diffuse; yet it may be said that its main subject is the body of teaching on the life of hermits and those who have gone aside from the world: those who as St. Isaac of Syria says ' have made the wilderness a city, have transformed it into the home and abode of the angels '.

This welcome collection of writings gives us material from the fourth to the middle of the seventh century A.D., with valuable appendices from St. Gregory Palamas (13th to 14th century) and from his biography. The two longest portions in the book come very rightly from St. Isaac the Syrian (sixth century) of his *Directions on Spiritual Training* and from St. Maximus the Confessor, a contemporary of St. Isaac in Constantinople. These two authors account for nearly half of the book. The early Egyptian Fathers are represented by St. Anthony the Great, St. Mark the Ascetic and St. Nilus of Sinai. Although St. Gregory Palamas is by no means an Early Father, the crowning importance of his ascetical teaching and his powerful influence on Orthodox theology, an influence that has won for him in the East the authority and dignity of a Father of the Church, is clearly shewn in his faithful exposition of Tradition and the summing up of that Tradition which his great mind and devoted life has given us. Unhappily his writings are comparatively unknown and still await a worthy compiler and translator.

Two general questions would appear to be raised by a book such as this, as well as by its predecessor. How is it that in these days its contents are widely read and welcomed by more serious readers? The Philokalia is not a well-known book among us, and yet it appears to be welcome. Is it possible that the same desire as arose so urgently in the later days of decadent paganism to seek cleansing and renewal through penitence and denial of the world, is declaring itself again today in an age that once more has reached the end of a civilisation? St. Anthony was very clear about the first cleansing and the need for it, and points to the divine example of Our Lord's being driven to the wilderness to prepare for His great Mission. The other question is linked up with the growing study of patristic theology in the West, by no means restricted to Anglicanism. Is the study of the Philokalia part of this long-term movement towards a reintegrated Christian theology with all its promise of soundly based Christian unity?

The translators of this book maintain with a disarming humility that their work 'is not meant as a contribution either to history or scholarship, but is based on the belief that it may meet some practical needs of the day'. This is wise, but it must be realised by anybody who undertakes such a task that the original of the Philokalia is not in Russian, but in Greek and indeed in some cases behind the Greek in Arabic and even Syriac. To present a clear interpretation of the original writer's mind something more than the Russian translation is clearly needed. Nor can it rightly be even hinted (as e.g. in the use of the term 'prelest') that the Russian presents a richer content than the original Plane. Yet these criticisms sink into comparative insignificance when the immense benefit of familiarising a wider public with the unfading beauty of the Philokala is realised. As St. Isaac the Syrian says,

> The soul can soar on wings to the realms of the incorporeal and touch the depths of the intangible sea. . . . It can search out the spiritual mysteries, accessible to a fine and simple mind. Then the inner senses awake for spiritual doing, according to the order which will prevail in the immortal and incorruptible life; for then it has, as it were, undergone a spiritual resurrection even in this world, as a true token of the general resurrection.

AUSTIN OAKLEY.

THERESE OF LISIEUX

THERESE OF LISIEUX. By HANS URS VON BALTHASAR. English translation. Sheed & Ward. 16s.

THIS is a study of the life and doctrine of this most widely popular saint—from an individual angle. We are given a portrait of Thérèse as she is seen by a writer of wide knowledge, keen acumen and deep spiritual insight whose treatment moreover is throughout austere, untouched by the sentimentality which for so many of us hinders sympathetic approach to Thérèse and objective appreciation of her teaching. In the reviewer's opinion, to be sure, that teaching is by no means so original as it is usually believed to be. The author indeed observes its resemblance to the spiritual doctrine of St. Francis de Sales. Nor can the likeness be dismissed so lightly as he dismisses it by the consideration that there is no evidence of borrowing. Is it after all so surprising if Christian holiness is seen in substantially the same light by the independent vision of two saints professing the same creed? A detailed comparison between Salesian and Thérèsian spirituality might indeed be profitably undertaken. And if, as I suspect, it should prove that the latter has added little or nothing to the former, I may be forgiven, if I prefer the doctrine of the little way clothed, not as by St. Thérèse in its hideous garments of nineteenth century bourgeois French piety but by St. Francis in the attractive if quaint costume of a seventeenth century gentleman and scholar. But the fact remains that people prefer to learn from St. Thérèse rather than from St. Francis.

No doubt it was in view of such a preference that St. Thérèse was given the extraordinary vocation explained by Fr. von Balthasar to display herself to the Church as the model, the exemplar of her spirituality, that, as he shows, she was enabled as it were to reduplicate and objectify herself, see herself, fashion herself, and display herself as from outside without loss of the humility on which alone any genuine holiness can be built. Hence the strange selfcanonisation ratified so emphatically by the Church. Even so, Fr. von Balthasar holds, her holiness and vocation were seriously imperilled by two mistakes, that she divulged her child's vision of Our Lady thereby producing in relations and friends a belief in her sanctity, or expectations of marvels and her confessor's assurance which she felt herself obliged to credit—that she had never been guilty of deliberate sin. At this point however I am not altogether convinced by the author. It is after all a simple matter of fact that there have been and are, thank God, men and women, however small a minority, who have not *wilfully* cherished a desire, spoken a word, done an act which they believed to be contrary to God's will for them. Where however the confessor was undoubtedly mistaken was to leave Thérèse with the impression that she was, if not unique, almost unique in this. For aught we know to the contrary there may have been another nun, even more than one other nun in her convent of whom this could be truly said.

How can such souls be truthful and humble? Surely, as Thérèse was herself humble, in the knowledge that this freedom from deliberate sin is God's free unmerited grace.

Christian thought and feeling have too often been obsessed by sin. The antidote of such freedom from wilful sin as Thérèse's should be welcomed.

Where however I must emphatically record my dissent from Fr. von Balthasar is in his pronouncement that Thérèse was not a mystic, because she disliked visions and revelations and was not gifted, like her namesake of Avila, with graces of passive contemplation.

These things cannot be identified with mysticism. St. John of the Cross emphatically forbids the contemplative to seek or even adhere to visions and revelations. And even the higher forms of passive contemplation through images or concepts infused by God, are given, Baker tells us, only to expedite the soul along the ordinary road of active contemplation which is the substance of mystical prayer and can bring a soul to the highest and closest union with God possible in this life. The author has no justification for identifying mysticism with accidents and concomitants which though in the higher degrees normal are by no means indispensable. Because St. Thérèse's way of prayer is in Baker's sense ' ordinary ', it is none the less mystical.

E. I. WATKIN.

HISTORY OF THE LITURGY

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP: AN OUTLINE OF LITURGICAL HISTORY. By DOM BENEDICT STEUART. Foreword by the Rev. J. B. O'Connell. Pp. xxvi + 290. Longmans. 30s.

THE increased interest in liturgical studies in recent years is both typified by the appearance of this new outline of liturgical history and forms the ground work of it, for the book is essentially a resumé of work done by other students of Christian Worship and the author himself contributes little that is original. Dom Benedict Steuart is to be congratulated on the thoroughness with which he has gathered together the results of recent work on the Liturgy. He has written, as he himself puts it, for " busy parish priests, religious occupied with teaching or other absorbing work, and lay folk who, in these days of ' liturgical movements ' of one kind or another, are tending more and more to take an interest in liturgical matters from both the practical and historical points of view, but are in most cases unable to find time to look it up for themselves."

The book is divided into two Parts, of which Part I deals with " Sacrifice: The Holy Eucharist " and Part II with " Prayer: The Divine Office ". After a preliminary discussion of the meaning of Sacrifice and Prayer the author devotes 90 pages to the Institution of the Eucharist and the early formation of the Liturgy, the Introductory Service and the Eucharist in East and West, the fusion of these two services at Rome and the completed Rite in other parts of the West. The remainder of Part I (nearly 100 pages) is concerned with detailed discussion of the various parts of the eucharistic liturgy — preface, sanctus, canon, and so on. Part II (occupying some 70 pages) deals with the origin of the Divine Office and the Liturgical Year. There are six appendices, which include notes on Reservation of and Devotion to the Blessed Sacrament as well as the texts, with translations, of the *Deprecatio Gelasii* and of the two North Italian Eucharistic Prayers originally published by Cardinal Mai and already reprinted by Dom Gregory Dix in *The Shape of the Liturgy*.

The author's method of setting out *seriatim* the views of various scholars about liturgical questions which are still under discussion has something to commend it in that it might lead the reader to investigate such matters further for himself, but one is often left with the feeling that Dom Benedict would have helped the busy parish priests, religious, and lay folk for whom he is writing, to appreciate the Liturgy even better if he had presented them with his own considered judgement more frequently. Often he glides lightly over difficulties: for example, the disuse in the later Roman rite of the " Prayer of the Day " (" which probably followed the *Dominus vobiscum* and *Oremus* still sung or said after the Gospel or creed in the Roman Mass ") can scarcely have been due to " the fusion of synaxis and Eucharist into one service " (p. 78) since, as the author himself notes, there is a trace of it still in the seventh-century *Gelasian Sacramentary*. Antiphonal singing of psalms (p. 59) was introduced at Antioch by Bishop Leontius (A.D. 344-357) and was certainly known at Milan in the time of Ambrose (cf. Augustine, *Confessions* ix. 8). Dom Connolly put forward the view that chaps. ix and x of the *Didache* refer to an Agape and chap. xiv to a Eucharist long before Gregory Dix who is credited with this theory on p. 112. One looks in vain for any reference to such important contributions to recent liturgical studies as J. Jeremias, *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu;* J. Daniélou, *Bible et Liturgie;* or J. M. Hanssens, *Nature et Genèse de l'Office des Matines*, to say nothing of the older *History of the Roman Breviary* by P. Batiffol. It was perhaps unfortunate that Dom Benedict Steuart's book was already set up in type before the appearance of A. Allan McArthur's *The Evolution of the Christian Year*. However, no " outline " history can cover everything and there is a great deal of sound information packed into this one. It is to be hoped that it will stimulate its readers to further reading. As a starting point they could scarcely have anything better.

C. W. DUGMORE.

EZEKIEL

EZEKIEL AND ALEXANDER. By L. E. BROWNE. S.P.C.K., London. 1952. 3s. 6d.

THIS is an attempt to date the whole book of Ezekiel between 339 and 328 B.C.: the work is a series of prophecies written to meet the crisis produced by the arrival of Alexander the Great in the Near East. The dates in Ezekiel which refer to the captivity of Jehoiachin are really to be reckoned from the deportation of certain Jews to Hyrcania, which, according to Eusebius and other late authorities, took place under Artaxerxes III Ochus. The three other dates at I1, XXIX, 17, and XL, 1, are reckoned from the accession of Artaxerxes III in 358 B.C. Ezekiel used this cryptic method in order to conceal from the Persian authorities that he was dealing with contemporary events. In the same way, the detailed religious abuses which the prophet attacks are to be understood allegorically, as stock phases from a distant past now applied to the materialism of his own day. So the book of Ezekiel is to be compared not so much with the forthtelling of the earlier prophets as with the mystifications of later apocalyptic.

Dr Browne is very ingenious, but at no point is he really convincing. One general point may be made at the outset. Writing of Ezekiel in *The Old Testament and Modern Study,* Eissfeldt says: 'The literary questions must be settled first as such, and only after their solution can we form an historical reconstruction '. Dr Browne does not consider the literary problems at all, and this means that even if it could be shown that certain prophecies in the book of Ezekiel refer to the time of Alexander, as was claimed long ago, for example by Torrey, we should still have to inquire whether these could be held to determine the date of the whole work or whether rather they were later additions to an older kernel.

Yet, even with this proviso, few of Dr Browne's fundamental arguments are really strong. As has been seen, one of the chief of them rests on the assumption that Ezekiel dated his prophecies from the Jewish deportation under Artaxerxes III, and the date of this event itself is therefore of vital importance. Such evidence as we have places it in 354 or 353 B.C. but on p. 6 of his book, Dr Browne casually moves it ten years later to follow Artaxerxes' conquest of Egypt. There is certainly no evidence for this and no reason to necessitate it. Syncellus, our most detailed authority, tells us that Artaxerxes deported the Jews in question while he was warring against Egypt. But Artaxerxes waged a year's campaign against Egypt in 351 B.C. and this was preceded by the subjugation of Phoenicia (cf. A. T. Olmstead, *The History of the Persian Empire,* p. 432 f.). If it was at this period that the Jews were deported to Hyrcania, the date 354 or 353 B.C. would fit very well. But if this date is accepted, Dr Browne's neat synchronization of Ezekiel's prophecies with the advance of Alexander is made impossible, for, on his own showing, Ezekiel would have finished his work before Alexander crossed the Dardanelles. It is a pity that Dr Browne has abandoned the caution with which he wrote of the date of the Jewish deportation to Hyracania on p. 204 of his *Early Judaism.*

To take another example: Dr Browne makes much of the fact that the prophecies against Tyre do not fit the circumstances of Nebuchadrezzar's siege of the city, but do fit those of Alexander's. The prophecies imply that Tyre was captured, as it was by Alexander, but not, Dr Browne claims, by Nebuchadrezzar. In particular, XXIX, 17-20 is 'an exact and convincing parallel with the sack of Tyre in 332 B.C.' According to XXIX, 18, the siege of Tyre was long and arduous: this would suit well the thirteen years of Nebuchadrezzar's siege but nothing like so well the seven months of Alexander's, for this would be no unduly long period for the investiture of a city in the Ancient Near East. Further, the natural sense of XXIX, 18, is that Nebuchadrezzar failed to take Tyre. In this case, the verse could be explained, as in G. A. Cooke's commentary, as a sort of correction by the prophet of his earlier predictions of the fall of the city. However, as Fohrer shows in *Die Hauptprobleme des Buches Ezekiel* p. 120, there is archaeological evidence that Tyre fell to Nebuchadrezzar: in addition to Foherer's references, one might also adduce the text printed by E. Unger in *Babylon, die heilige Stadt,* pp. 282-94, which lists the king of Tyre, along with other subject rulers, as a client at Nebuchadrezzar's court. It can thus be seen that Dr Browne claims far too much when he asserts that chapters 26-28 of Ezekiel 'must be referred to the only successful siege of Tyre, that by Alexander in 332 B.C.'

Even the comparatively minor statements of the book will not bear the weight placed on them. An instance is the assertion that 332 B.C. is 'the exact year when the Samaritan temple was built on Mt Gerizim'. Josephus indeed tells us that this was the year that Alexander gave permission for the temple and it may have been begun then, but *Antiquities* XII, ix, 1 implies that it was not built—or finished—till 328 B.C. A few years one way or the other would not normally matter in this obscure period, but Dr Browne lays such stress on exact correspondence that his examples must be judged by the most rigorous standards.

Space does not permit a demonstration of the similar inconclusiveness of most of the other arguments in the book. Dr Browne is always clear and fairly consistent within his presuppositions, but it cannot be said that he has substantially advanced the solution of the problems of Ezekiel, which remain perhaps the most perplexing of any book of the Old Testament.

J. R. PORTER.

A LIVING PARISH

THE PARISH IN ACTION. By THE RIGHT REV. JOOST DE BLANK, Bishop of Stepney. Mowbrays. 9s. 6d.

" EVANGELISM *is* the normal life of the Church, and can never be an optional extra. It is of the essence of the Church, and the Church to be the Church must be permanently in a state of mission." This realisation, which is common enough in Anglicanism to-day, is being expressed experimentally in a variety of ways. For the present Bishop of Stepney, during the years when he was Vicar of St. John's, Greenhill, Harrow, it meant a rediscovery and re-vitalizing of parish life; more than that, a turning of a parish inside out. " The need was plain enough. The whole parish, so to say, needed to be turned inside out. Instead of looking in upon itself and its own life and activity, it needed to look out upon the world and, in particular, on those thousands in the parish who owed no church allegiance anywhere at all." That this process was, in part at least, carried through, was made possible through a lively group of laity, who in the new situation of post-War England responded to their Vicar's bold ideas and vigorous direction. The account in this book is not exaggerated. These things happened: as one who knew the parish can testify.

This book describes, in its first half, the ideas which lay behind this plan; and, in the second half the carrying through of the plan itself. It is a book which should be widely read and discussed. What happened at Greenhill could not, as it were, be merely " laid on " elsewhere. There is needed pioneer thinking in every parish in our land. But this book will prove a stimulus and an encouragement; and will suggest all sorts of ideas.

It is good to hear that though " numbers without sanctity are of no significance " we are nevertheless " not meant to despise numbers." The Bishop's suggestions are really a plan by which the Church can become the Church of England once again. Once or twice he is, perhaps, a little facile. Is it really true to say that " the social concern for old people, that seeks to make the eventide of their life as happy as possible, has largely resulted from the activity of the Church on their behalf?" And the complete condemnation of " congregationalism " in the Church would mean death, in the end, to those " down-town " Churches which are often the most notable buildings in provincial towns but whose parishes may be little more than an area of offices and shops. In an *Episcopal Postscript* the author appears to have second thoughts on this subject. If he came to the North of England he might have further second thoughts.

H. G. G. HERKLOTS.

In our review of *Plants of the Bible,* by H. N. and A. L. Moldenke, which appeared in the January 1954 issue, we omitted to mention that Messrs. Wm. Dawson & Sons, Cannon House, Macklin Street, London, W.C.2, act as agents of the Chronica Botanica Company of Waltham, Mass., U.S.A., for the United Kingdom and that copies may be obtained in England at 60 shillings.

On page 293 of our July issue the name of Mr. Ian Rawlins should have been so spelt. It appears as Rawlings.

CONTINENTAL AND NEAR EASTERN REVIEWS ON UNITY

IRENIKON. Prieure. Benedictin d'Amay, Chevtogne. Belgique. 2° trimestre. 1954.

PROCHE-ORIENT CHRETIEN. Seminaire de Sainte-Anne, Jeruusalem. Tome IV Nos. i & 2.

UNITAS. Unitas Association. English Language Edition. Vol 6. Summer Number 1954.

A NUMBER of well-informed journals are published abroad, on the Continent, in the Near East and in America, which gives a general picture of inter-Church relations from something more than an insular point of view. *Irénikon,* published by the Benedictine Fathers of Chevetogne, the new home in Belgium of the Amay Benedictines, is published quarterly in French. Its liturgical and theological articles have long been famous, and are concerned with a sympathetic review of Orthodox thought. In addition to this, there is always a very full review of literature germane to Eastern theology and history, as well as reports of contacts between Christians of Eastern and Western traditions. As is well known, the Amay Fathers live the monastic life and celebrate the Divine Liturgy according to Eastern models.

Proche-Orient Chrétien is a quarterly review, of high literary standard, published in French by the Professors of the Roman Catholic Seminary of St. Anne of Jerusalem. It is particularly valuable for its close ties with Near Eastern Orthodoxy in the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, and for its eirenic spirit towards Orthodoxy, and indeed the whole movement towards unity among Christians. It gives detailed reports of the course of events in Egypt, Jordan, Israel, Syria and Turkey as they affect the religious situation in these countries.

Unitas is an international quarterly Review, published in Italian and French, and, in the United States, in English. It is edited by Charles Boyer, S.J., Prefect of Studies and Dean of the Theological Faculty, Gregorian Pontifical University in Rome. The objective quality of this review has become of interest and importance, and is open, as indeed all these publications are, to contributions from non-Roman writers. The amount of literary reviews published in *Unitas* is not great, but its documentary material is ably presented.

It is suggested that regular quarterly notices of the outstanding articles and information contained in these Reviews, along with such others as are of general interest, may keep English readers of the *Church Quarterly Review* in touch with the course of events in the religious world outside our own borders.

A. O.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THEOLOGICAL

A notice in this selection of recent works does not exclude a subsequent review.

Henry Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter, 1778-1869. By G. C. B. Davies. Foreword by Norman Sykes. S.P.C.K. 42s.

Henry Philpotts was a West-countryman, born like some other noted men in the historic town of Bridgwater. He gained a scholarship at Oxford and later became a friend of the famous Dr Routh. His most important work was done as Bishop of Exeter, where he carried out many reforms and was the protagonist in the Gorham case. He was a High Churchman and a Conservative. He was an able, courageous and devout man. Dr Davies, a practised historical writer, has written a valuable book.

Christ the Conqueror. Ideas of Conflict and Victory in the New Testament. By Requer Leivestad. S.P.C.K. 25s.

A detailed study of the New Testament with reference to the ideas of conflict and victory. A thorough analytical survey distinguishes a number of different motifs. In his exegesis the author directs our attention to elements in the N.T. which in the past have been neglected.

I Peter. A Paschal Liturgy. By F. L. Cross, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. 50p. Mowbrays.

A study of the ' Epistle ' as a liturgical document.

The Theology of the Spiritual Life. By Joseph de Guibert, S.J. Translated by Paul Barrett. Sheed and Ward. 18s.

The author, sometime Professor of Ascetical and Mystical Theology at the Gregorian University in Rome, is a master of his subject. Under its seven important headings this work covers the whole field of the spiritual life, referring to Scripture, the writings of the Saints, and of theologians. It is clear and precise, learned and full. We consider it to be an admirable treatise for the instruction of all, both clerical and lay, who seek to become more proficient in prayer and the love of God.

Congregationalism: a Restatement. Faber. 10s. 6d.

A good study of Congregationalism and its relation to the Ecumenical movement.

An Anthology of the Love of God. From the Writings of Evelyn Underhill. Edited by Lumsden Barkway and Lucy Menzies. Mowbrays. 12s. 6d.

An admirable collection of extracts from a very distinguished devotional writer.

The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation. Everyman's Library. Introduction by Dom David Knowles. 382p. J. M. Dent. 6s.

This volume, in L. C. Jane's translation, also includes the *Lives of St. Cuthbert and the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow.*

Education into Religion. By A. Victor Murray. 230p. Nisbet. 14s.

A valuable study of the problem of Christian education by the Principal of Cheshunt College, Cambridge. The author understands what religious education can and cannot do to establish belief.

The Nineteenth Century Country Parson (*circa.* 1832-1900). By A. Tindal Hart and Edward Carpenter. Shrewsbury: Wilding & Son. 16s.

This book contains extracts from a number of diaries which have been collected. They are illustrative of the life and characters of a number of 19th century clergy. A good brief review of the earlier history of the country clergy is contained in an introduction of twenty pages. This book, unpretentious in make-up, is a notable document for the student of Church history—a record of a vanished age when the average parson in rural communities, always a man of culture and often a scholar, exercised an influence not common today.

An Essay in Christian Philosophy. By Dom Iltyd Trethowan. 184p. Longmans. 12s. 6d.

An excellent book for the intelligent layman who seeks an approach to Christian philosophy, and may have been dismayed by the fashionable hostility to metaphysics.

Interpreting Paul's Gospel. By A. M. Hunter. S.C.M. Press. 10s. 6d.

Learned and clear. A work of great interest.

History of New Testament Times. With an Introduction to the Apocrypha. By Robert H. Pfeiffer. A. & C. Black. 25s.

This encyclopaedic work will be of great value to every student of the important subject with which it deals. Hellenistic Greek culture and the important contemporary Jewish literature are fully described, with comprehensive references and notes of authorities in all languages.

The Life and Ministry of Jesus. By Vincent Taylor. 236p. Macmillan. 12s. 6d.

An important book. It includes a learned appraisal of the evidence for the ministry of Jesus, and inquiries into the communal and personal aspects of the doctrine of the Son of Man.

Greek Philosophy: *The Hub and the Spokes.* 29p. An Inaugural Lecture. By W. K. C. Guthrie. C.U.P. 3s.

An illuminating pronouncement on the importance of Greek studies, including the relation of Greek to Arabic culture—a topic now assuming a new importance—and the debt of Science to the pre-Socratic and later Greek natural philosophers. A fuller reference is reserved for our January number.

The Church in England, 597-1688. By S. C. Carpenter, D.D., formerly Dean of Exeter. Murray. 40s.

An up-to-date history which is likely to become a standard work.

GENERAL

Gladstone: *A Biography.* By Philip Magnus. 482p. John Murray. 28s.

The author writes: 'Gladstone may be judged as a statesman; few would venture to judge him as a man. He dedicated his life to the task of teaching men and nations to govern themselves by schooling their passions, and thereby to realize on earth the spirit of the Christian ethic.' The time is ripe for a new assessment of Gladstone's career. Sir Philip Magnus brings to the task an accurate appreciation of the stateman's religious outlook.

A Continent Decides. By Lord Birdwood. 316p. Robert Hale. 21s.

An account of the two new Indian members of the Commonwealth and of the problems which their independence involves. *A review is deferred.*

Lord M. By David Cecil. 348p. Constable. 21s.

The author, whose previous biographical work is already widely known, here continues his biography of Melbourne. Melbourne was an able and lovable man, whose life ought to be read and considered by those of the present generation who do not know much of what he did. This work is based upon copious authentic material.

The Nature of Evidence. By the Rt. Hon. Sir Alfred Bucknill. 142p. Skeffington. 10s. 6d.

An examination by an experienced judge of the problems which surround the discovery of the truth. Not a legal treatise, but a well-written account of a judge's views based on exceptional knowledge. Observation and inference, the true interpretation of evidence, the risk of error through inexperience in fact finding—such topics are of wide importance apart from the special problems which arise in the courts. A valuable section deals with the Divorce Court and the importance of reconciliation. A final chapter deals with instinct, telepathy and the question whether 'the world which we see and hear is the shadow rather than the reality of life'. A clear and convincing book.

The End of Time. A Meditation on the Philosophy of History. By Joseph Pieper. 157p. Faber. 10s. 6d.

A readable study of the meaning of the historical process by an able thinker.

Studies in Christian Social Commitment. Edited by John Ferguson. Independent Press. 8s. 6d.

This is a symposium on Pacifist principles to which a number of able thinkers contribute, with a foreword by Canon L. W. Grensted.

History of the British West Indies. By Sir Alan Burns. 820p. George Allen & Unwin.

An important monograph. The remarkable history of these colonies includes some curious chapters in the story of religious controversy and propaganda.

Warren Hastings. By Keith Feilding. 420p. Macmillan. 30s.

An interesting life of this fine man based on numerous original documents. Hastings is distinguished from many proconsuls by his wisdom and originality.

Evolution as a Process. Edited by Julian Huxley, A. C. Hardy and E. B. Ford. George Allen & Unwin.

A collection of expert essays by nineteen scientists.

The Royal Society of Arts, 1754-1954. By Derek Hudson and Kenneth W. Luckhurst. 411p. John Murray.

A comprehensive history of this valuable institution with some account of its principal services to civilisation.

The Vale of Berkeley. By Lewis Wilshire. The Regional Books. Robert Hale. 18s.

Among the wonderful variety of English scenery the Severn country has a particular charm and its qualities have not been much discussed in writing. This will make a valuable addition to a useful series.

NOTES ON PERIODICALS

Scottish Journal of Theology. Vol. 7, No. 3. September 1954. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd. 4s. 6d.

This number includes a study of Barth's treatment of the problem of evil by the Rev. Geraint Vaughan Jones; and Recent Biblical Studies and their Doctrinal Implications by the Rev. T. S. Garrett.

The Quarterly Review. No. 601. July 1954. Murray. 8s. 6d.

Many excellent articles including The History of Perjury by Sir Travers Humphreys and The Prospect of Famine by Lt.-Col. F. Evans. There is also a study of Worker Priests in France by Victor Cohen.

The Expository Times. March 1954. T. & T. Clarke. 1s. 6d.

This number of a fine journal is especially valuable for an introductory article by Dr Vincent Taylor opening a series on *Important and Influential Foreign Books.* Such a series we commend to all students for the reason that many of us form erroneous opinions owing to our failure to read important foreign books. Dr Taylor refers to Wilhelm, Wrede, Schweitzer, Boussett, Bultmann, Lietzman, Goguel, Jeremias and others.

In the May issue of the same journal Dr Vincent Taylor has contributed a remarkable study of Wrede's *The Messianic Secret in the Gospels.* Contrary to some critics Dr Taylor holds that ' Jesus is the Messiah all the days of His ministry, but He cannot accept popular acclamations because He knows the He is the Messiah only as He suffers, dies, rises again, and returns as Lord to His own '.

In the July number outstanding in interest is a review article by Professor Ian Henderson on Karl Jaspers in relation to Bultmann's views about myth. Jaspers finds in Bultmann's work a ' wrong conception of science, of philosophy, and of Christianity '.

Downside Review. Spring 1954. Downside Abbey, Bath. 4s.

A number of able articles in this number deal with fundamental philosophical issues and will interest readers who feel that in Christian circles insufficient attention is paid to the subject of philosophy.

Philosophy. The Journal of the Royal Institute of Philosophy. Edited by S. R. Hooper. July 1954. Macmillan. 5s.

Includes a discussion: What is Theology ?

The Journal of Religion. July 1954. University of Chicago Press, U.S.A. $6 a volume.

Among many valuable articles may be mentioned: The Gnostic Foundations of Heidegger's Nihilism, and a review article on Psychotherapy and the Christian message.

Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church. June 1954. 5 Paterson Street, New Brunswick, N.J. (Quarterly) $4 the year. (Single numbers $1.25).

This number deals comprehensively with the history of the Anglican Communion.

Theological Studies. Published by the Theological Faculties of the Society of Jesus in the United States. Woodstock, Md. $5.

A survey or bulletin of recent New Testament Studies is able and learned.

The British Journal for the Philosophy of Science. Vol. V. No. 18. Nelson & Sons. 7s. 6d.

Attention is drawn to an article by R. O. Kapp on Living and Lifeless Machines.

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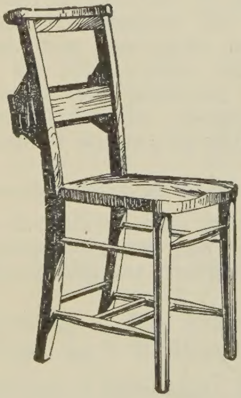

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